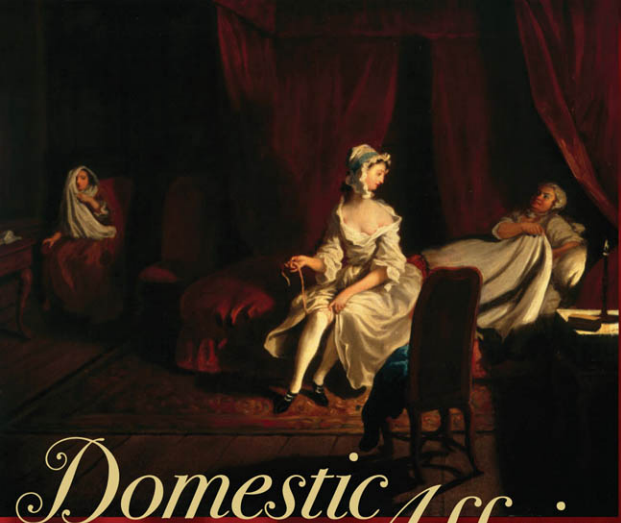

Domestic Affairs

INTIMACY, EROTICISM, AND VIOLENCE BETWEEN SERVANTS AND MASTERS IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY BRITAIN

Kristina Straub

VISIT…

Domestic Affairs

This page intentionally left blank

{ Domestic Affairs }

Intimacy, Eroticism, and Violence between Servants and Masters in Eighteenth-Century Britain

KRISTINA STRAUB

The Johns Hopkins University Press
Baltimore

© 2009 The Johns Hopkins University Press
All rights reserved. Published 2009
Printed in the United States of America on acid-free paper
2 4 6 8 9 7 5 3 1

The Johns Hopkins University Press
2715 North Charles Street
Baltimore, Maryland 21218-4363
www.press.jhu.edu

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Straub, Kristina, 1951–
Domestic affairs : intimacy, eroticism, and violence between servants and masters in eighteenth-century Britain / Kristina Straub.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN-13: 978-0-8018-9049-9 (hardcover : alk. paper)
ISBN-10: 0-8018-9049-7 (hardcover : alk. paper)
1. English literature—18th century—History and criticism. 2. Domestics in literature. 3. Master and servant in literature. 4. Social classes in literature. 5. Group identity in literature. 6. Gender identity in literature. 7. Domestics—Great Britain—Social conditions—18th century. 8. Family—Economic aspects—Great Britain—History—18th century. I. Title.
PR448.D66S77 2008
820.9′3552—dc22 2008014660

A catalog record for this book is available from the British Library.

Special discounts are available for bulk purchases of this book. For more information, please contact Special Sales at 410-516-6936 or specialsales@press.jhu.edu.

The Johns Hopkins University Press uses environmentally friendly book materials, including recycled text paper that is composed of at least 30 percent post-consumer waste, whenever possible. All of our book papers are acid-free, and our jackets and covers are printed on paper with recycled content.

Contents

Acknowledgments *vii*

1 The "Servant Problem" and the Family 1

2 "In the Posture of Children": *Servants, Family Pedagogy, and Sexuality* 19

3 Interpreting the Woman Servant: *Pamela and Elizabeth Canning, 1740 to 1760* 47

4 Dangerous Intimacies: *Roxana, Amy, and the Crimes of Elizabeth Brownrigg, 1724 to 1767* 83

5 Performing the Manservant, 1730 to 1760 110

6 Men Servants' Sexuality in the Novel, 1740 to 1794 141

Conclusion: *Notes of a Footman on the "Servant Problem," 1790* 178

Notes *191*
Index *215*

This page intentionally left blank

Acknowledgments

I owe thanks to many colleagues who read parts of this book and improved it with their suggestions and comments. Jon Klancher gave me helpful and generous feedback on an early version combining chapters 1 and 2, as did Michael Witmore on what became chapter 2. Laura Rosenthal and Mita Choudhury gave me strong editorial advice on my reading of the Elizabeth Brownrigg materials, and Jocelyn Harris and Lisa Zunshine improved portions of the chapter on *Pamela*. Daniel Quinn gave me wonderful writing advice on the Footman's Gallery portions of chapter 5. George Haggerty also helped me bring some order to that chapter, which never would have made it into their hands if Michael Chemers had not encouraged me. Most importantly, I cannot thank Jill Campbell enough for her heroic reading of the entire manuscript for the Johns Hopkins University Press; Jill, your advice has made this book as good as I could make it.

I am always in the debt of my students at Carnegie Mellon University. They keep me asking the hardest questions and searching for the strongest answers. I particularly thank the members of my Feminist Cultural Studies seminar, upon whom I inflicted piles of nearly illegible photocopies of the Canning materials. Rebecca May, especially, was a trooper in reading and making sense of the contradictory documents in this case. I owe a special debt to Jad Smith, who can talk about *Pamela* and garden with me at the same time. Thanks also to my research assistant, Julianne Mentzer, for her help with the index.

My colleagues among the faculty and administration at Carnegie Mellon University have given me an invigorating and supportive work environment for the past twenty years. Ours is a community that respects expertise and has a healthy intolerance for facile claims to knowledge. David Kaufer, the head of the English Department, and John Lehoczky, dean of Humanities and Social Sciences, have mentored and supported me in this honest and demanding institution.

I wish to acknowledge Bucknell University Press, Routledge University Press, the Modern Language Association, and Cambridge University Press for publish-

ing portions of this book in different forms and for different educational and scholarly purposes.

The editors and staff at the Johns Hopkins University Press have been patient, professional, and helpful. I thank Michael Lonegro for his tolerance during some of my worst senior moments and Kathleen Capels for the intelligence and bravery with which she took on the herculean task of cleaning up my prose.

The Folger Shakespeare Library let me teach a seminar on eighteenth-century servants and join their wonderful community for all too short a time. I owe much to the graciousness and insightfulness of the students in that seminar, particularly the historians, who helped me achieve a more critical and nuanced sense of evidence and data.

Another community that has given me vital support throughout the course of completing this project is the wonderful band of theater scholars assembled by Joseph Roach and Maggie Powell in the "Anti-Theatricality" conference at Yale and its subsequent reunion at the Lewis Day Walpole Library, in particular Lisa Freeman, whose ideas about theater and so much else have been important to my thinking about this book over the years.

I could not have continued in eighteenth-century studies without the many years of friendship and intellectual support that I have gained from the members of the American Society of Eighteenth Century Studies. Talking, laughing, listening, thinking, and eating with you over the last twenty-four years has given me a community that continually tells me that our work is worth doing. There are too many of you to thank individually—and you know who you are—but I would be remiss not to single out Sue Lanser, who encouraged me to continue on with this project when I had begun to doubt that it would ever be publishable.

My family has grown and changed since I began working on this book. My little daughters Bailey and Evie Clark are now taller than I am, and I have found a loving, intellectually challenging, and endlessly entertaining spouse in Carol Goldburg. The three of you are what keep me going in everything that I do, including the "inconvenience" of writing this book. Along with Carol's companionship, I have gained the love and support of the rather extensive Goldburg/Levy clan; I cannot believe my good luck at having been adopted by you all, especially my mother-outlaw, Barbara Goldburg. Particular thanks to my brother-outlaw, Steve Summerday, who interrupted a perfectly lovely vacation in the Colorado mountains to ask the question that made me pull my scattered thoughts together: "Kristina, what *is* your book about?"

I would finally like to acknowledge some long-time, constant companions. My sister Suzy Currey was my fellow traveler in aging while I was writing this book, as

she has been and, I hope, will be in every other development of my life. Nat Anderson has been and will always be on the other end of a phone line when I need her. My mother, Mimi Straub, gave me enough of her toughness and independence to finish projects like this one. And although he is no longer around to read this, I thank my father, Bud Straub, for his early lessons in the playful ways of words.

This page intentionally left blank

Domestic Affairs

This page intentionally left blank

CHAPTER ONE

The "Servant Problem" and the Family

This book began as a cultural study of power relations between eighteenth-century British servants and their masters and mistresses. How did a wide array of popular print and theatrical texts envision these relations? Second, how were those imaginings responsive to and formative of changing economic and social conditions in the institution of domestic servitude? Third, how did those representations take hold of individual thoughts and feelings? Finally, did they come to form what Raymond Williams called "structures of feeling," which is still a powerful term in cultural studies? Much of the research and analysis in this book is driven by these questions about ideology, power, and the role popular texts and performances have in the shaping of social relations.

But the material on servants and their relationships with their masters and mistresses is even richer, more complicated, and more interesting than the tales of economic and social struggle and of the institutional and ideological management of people's minds and bodies that were produced by my initial inquiries. While these questions remain motives for this study, the following narrative is as much about love as about class conflict, as much about the need for one another as about the need to exploit the other for profit, and as much about a desire for connection as about the creation of modern class differences. In polemical and imaginative literature on domestic service, servants and their employers often oppose, exploit, and even do violence to each other, but these stories also portray people who live, work with, and often care a great deal about each other. These are not necessarily opposing views, but interlocking and mutually sustaining discourses in writing about domestic relationships.

Such tensions in the relations between servants and masters emerge from a long history of love and hate that crosses historical periods and geographic locations. What is specific to eighteenth-century England is the emergence of a social consciousness of those tensions, expressed in a literature that tries to make sense of, and even to resolve them, as part of a larger, shared "social" problem. This chapter and the next introduce some of the most important terms and assumptions about domestic workers, which emerge from instructions to servants and masters, "how-to" writings on domestic service, and the large quantity of polemical literature satirizing or just plain complaining about servants. Instructions to maids, footmen, grooms, and butlers included a range of advice from the ethical to the practical, from their daily religious practice to how to remove stains from lace. Their employers, in turn, received directions on how to manage their domestics' work, education, religious practice, and even their leisure. This literature portrays ideal servants and masters as well as their negative counterparts, offering elaborate strictures on domestics, their employers, and the relations between the two. It constitutes evidence of an acute consciousness about the relationships between servants and their employers, their importance to the family and to society as a whole, and the many ways in which they could go wrong. Domestic affairs between masters and employees are represented in this literature about and for servants as either for the good or the detriment of society. They are, by turns, loving, distant, affectionate, coolly businesslike, passionate, violent, frankly sexual, and obliquely erotic. In the eighteenth century, the gendered and sexual relations that we, from our modern perspective, usually associate with privacy and the family tended to overlap with contractual agreements and labor relations that we more comfortably associate with the public sphere. Considering domestic servants as essential to a historically specific definition of the early modern family makes demands on analytic tools that are responsive to both labor and love, and to contract and affection. Integrating "public" and "private" relations evokes the grand social narratives of Marxism, as well as the familial dramas of Freud.

This framing of domestic servants, not as a subaltern class in society but as an integral part of the early modern family, contributes to three strong, interrelated historical narratives about eighteenth-century Britain that emerge from recent scholarship on this period: the formation of modern theories of identity, with their concomitant terms of sexuality, gender, and class;[1] the composition and significance of the family; and the construction of distinct but interdependent domestic and public spheres.[2] All contribute to our understanding of both historical change and continuity between the early modern and the modern, as well as to our own perception of these terms and how they signify during a century when the modern

was in the process of becoming. Yet domestic servants figure only occasionally and incidentally in what are otherwise comprehensive and revolutionary discussions of these three foci. While students of the eighteenth century widely recognize that "family" is a broader and more fluid category than our post-Freudian models of the nuclear or oedipal family—one in which the self and the divisions between public and private might differ from our contemporary understandings—little attention is given to those relations within the family which do not form part of these modern models. Husbands, wives, children, and (in perceptive works such as Ruth Perry's) aunts and brothers[3] are the main players. Servants do not really affect the main stage action. If they are discussed at all, they play supporting roles in the historical dramas of the modern family, of gendered and sexualized identities, and of domesticity.

What would happen if, for example, we develop a reading of Godwin's *Caleb Williams* from Michael McKeon's intriguing hint that the male servant who functions as a secretary to the master shares qualities with the wife ("at the lower levels of private . . . wage labor the office of the secretary becomes relatively menial and therefore relatively female"[4])? Or if, in our reading of a novel like Defoe's *Roxana*, we accept Naomi Tadmor's understanding of the family as both instrumental and affective in a sense that is radically different from our modern opposition of the two? How does the problematic sexuality of female domestic servants contribute to what Nancy Armstrong has famously called the first modern individual, the title character in Richardson's *Pamela*? By asking and attempting to answer such questions, I hope not only to supply a character missing from the stories that recent historians and literary critics tell about identity, family, and separate-sphere ideology, but also to suggest synergy rather than opposition between the broad categories—of labor and love, public and private, and political and personal—that inform these narratives.

Including servants in the analysis of eighteenth-century British identity, family, and the public/private split puts the valuable research on domestics from this period done by historians such as J. Jean Hecht and Bridget Hill to new uses, because it requires thinking about servants outside the box of a specific, class-based identity. Bruce Robbins's thoughtful and sophisticated *Servant's Hand* offers the most promising analytic approach to the methodological problem of servants' complicated connections to labor and affective relationships by analyzing their work as the "common ground where ruptures, recognitions, and renegotiations can take place between masters and servants."[5] The conceptual habit of thinking about domestic workers as radically different from their employers, a habit reinforced by the nineteenth-century eroticization of servants that Robbins brilliantly

analyzes, dies hard, however, and tends to mask the complicated relationship between the terms *servant* and *identity*. Simone de Beauvoir might be echoed with some truth: like women, eighteenth-century domestics were made rather than born. Their identities as servants are specific to their situation, a situation that could and did change. Tadmor points out that at any given point in the 1700s, by the time they reached their mid-teens, as much as two-thirds of the British population had lived in a family (many of whose members were not blood relations) as domestic servants or apprentices.[6] Thinking about servants as subaltern intruders in the family or as sharing a common, class-based identity is not so much wrong—many British writers from John Locke to Mary Wollstonecraft describe them in these terms—as incomplete. For one thing, it does not account for what Dror Wahlman refers to as the *ancien régime* of identity that dominated most of the century, a regime in which class, race, and gender are understood not as inherent and essential but as performed, socially determined, and even provisional.[7] Servants were a large but not static group of people for much of that period, and their contingent, shifting, but ubiquitous presence may have contributed to the eighteenth century's more fluid notions of identity. Treating domestic workers as an identifiable and stable class does not get at the knotty connections of contract, kinship, and affiliation that crisscross the British household at that time. It also does not address the crucial role that servant-employer relations play in the history of modern gender and sexuality theory, which has its roots in that household.

Polemical and satirical literature about domestic servants does often rhetorically "other" servants, placing them in opposition to the families that employ them. Increasingly, as the century goes on, that era's concept of family shapes the characteristics we have come to associate with middle-class domesticity: what Ruth Perry sees as (1) a growing emphasis on conjugal ties over blood ties, (2) a new focus on educating its children,[8] and, as Wahlman suggests, by late in the century, (3) increasingly rigid and essentialized "rules" for gendered and sexual behavior.[9] In this sense, servants are figured as "the other class" to the dominant model of the family. But, as McKeon perceptively observes, this emergent rhetoric of a middle-class family also often includes domestics as a sort of common denominator that reinforces the ideological value of that family.[10] Conceiving of servants as subaltern, constituting an identity outside the emergent formation of the middle-class family, slips into even "against the grain" readings such as Robbins's, preventing one from fully seeing the interconnections between servants and families in the historical emergence of our contemporary interpretations of gender, sexuality, and, most broadly, "the self" as a category for understanding human experience.

I therefore read eighteenth-century literature on servants as part of this rhetorical ordering of the family, and as integral to the process by which modern theories of identity—particularly class, gender, and sexuality—would come into being. Whether it is historically accurate or not, this literature offers evidence of an emergent consciousness that domestic servants participated in the family in more troubling ways than they had in the past. Many historians of British domestic service see the eighteenth century as the beginnings of what, in the nineteenth century, came to be called "the servant problem," and contemporary writers on the subject of servants tended to agree that they were living through a time of crisis within the institution of domestic service.[11] Daniel Defoe, a major voice in the literature on service, contrasts what he called a present "universal Degeneracy of Servants" against the "good Servants" of "former times."[12] Apprentices are included in a generally bleak view of service by writers such as Samuel Richardson, in his 1734 *Apprentice's Vade Mecum*: "The present Depravity of Servants is a general Complaint in the Mouths of all Masters of Families; and it must be allow'd there is but too much reason for it."[13] Historians have confirmed the growing numbers of domestic servants during this century, particularly in London and other developing cities, and writers about and for servants reflected and, perhaps, helped to create a new urgency about their role in the family. A type, almost a genre, of writing emerges that shows a high degree of consciousness, and often anxiety, about the moral behavior of servants and how it affects domestic relations. I read this consciousness as part of the rhetorical and historical process by which the presence of domestic workers both contributes to and is ultimately erased from theories of the modern family and the identities it engenders. While this literature yields a vocabulary that gave shape to the nineteenth-century "servant problem" and still tends to organize our assumptions about domestic servants, it also reveals the importance of servants to present-day understandings of the family.

THE SERVANT PROBLEM (AGAIN)

I revisit the well-worn concept of "the servant problem" to begin foregrounding some of the specific attitudes toward domestic service that produced the complex relations between retainers and their employers depicted in this study. Tensions, and even contradictions, in the identity of the servant are most explicitly articulated in a growing corpus of texts, seemingly written for those who employ domestics, the servants themselves, or sometimes both, that are a subgenre of the conduct or advice books that held a significant part of the eighteenth-century print

market in Britain. These texts, written by a cluster of writers among whom the most notable are, early in the century, Swift and Defoe, and, later, Eliza Haywood, Jonas Hanway, George Kearsley, and Sarah Trimmer, depict the servant as an individual agent, selling his or her labor for the best available price, or, conversely, as part of the family, working from motives of affection and loyalty. On this contradiction between personal autonomy and a deep-seated, emotional dedication to others' wishes, the servant balances as either the destruction or the hope of a family beset by social changes.[14] What became "the servant problem" of the nineteenth century was, in the eighteenth, a collection of hopes and fears that clustered around a member of the household whose mixed contractual and affective status formed the basis for many of the contradictions embodied in the family under early capitalism.

Writers on service view the growth of urban culture as a primary cause of many of the troubles experienced in families employing servants. London, which by the end of the century was the home, at least temporarily, to an enormous population of employed and unemployed domestic servants, is—early, late, and often—the focus of such complaints. Thomas Seaton, in a 1720 manual on the proper conduct of servants, writes that "taking a View of the inferior Servants about Town, it is for the most part very Melancholy; the Officers and the Servants in Liveries, in great Houses, are many of them a very Loose, Debauched, Intemporate, Extravagant, and Conceited Generation of Men, given much to Swear and Curse, to Filthy and Obscene Talk, and are full fraught with several of such Vices as wou'd astonish an Heathen, instead of being embellish'd with the Manly Virtues that shou'd adorn the Christian."[15] Defoe's London is "like the Ocean, that receives the muddy and dirty Brooks, as well as the clear and rapid Rivers, swallows up all the scum and filth of the Country, and here they need not fear of getting Places; what Servants are likely to come out of such Nurseries is not hard to suggest, nor is it any breach of Charity, to suppose that this helps to fill the Town with a generation of Whores and Thieves."[16] Defoe expresses a common, harried, conservative response to the many economic and demographic changes affecting the state of domestic service in England during the early eighteenth century. "The Town" afforded many displaced agrarian and rural domestic workers a market for their skills and labor, theoretically at a higher wage than that afforded by a changing English village economy. London offered servants economic alternatives to service in husbandry that, to writers like Defoe, all too easily slid into criminality ("Whores and Thieves"). For Defoe, urban conditions of employment at that time gave domestics a dangerous power over their masters. London had become a

"paradise for Servants" in which "order is inverted, Subordination ceases, and the World seems to stand with the Bottom upward."[17]

In addition to the servant's allegedly greater autonomy in an urban labor market, the growing practice, by midcentury, of the gentry spending extended periods of time in town brought domestics in different households together in newly troubling ways. Jonas Hanway's Farmer Trueman, a former servant of the old school, advises his daughter thus upon going to service: "In these days of pleasure and dissipation, Mary, the most part of the nobility and gentry of this island carry their families to London, where servants entertain each other, with accounts of profitable places; as how much wages some have more than others. These do not consider so much the comfort and peace, the safety, and good treatment they enjoy, as how much they may get; I say may get, for it is not the lot of one in a thousand to be in such services as are represented to them!"[18] In town, growing numbers of domestics could communicate with each other more easily than in the country; their resulting awareness of the market for their labor and of opportunities for making money troubled polemicists throughout the century.

London is not the only place where domestic service seemed to be going wrong, of course, but for much of the century the London servant epitomized the most disastrous results of displaced rural workers entering the urban labor market. By 1815, Thomas Broughton extends Defoe's assessment of London to Britain's other growing urban centers: "As these great Cities entertain, so they ruin no small number of Servants; who soon exchange the simplicity of the country, for the foppery of the town; and the evil communications thereof too easily corrupt their manners . . . Thus the Town proves a school of corruption to them, wherein they learn every thing that is evil . . . With this wretched furniture of vices, how can they make good Servants?"[19] The figure of the urban servant, then, crystallized a greedy self-interestedness and moral degeneracy that was loosely associated with several laboring groups generally drawn from the ranks of the working poor or lower artisanal class: male servants for the upper classes, particularly liveried footmen, butlers, and valets; female servants and apprentices in a range of domestic positions; and male apprentices whose work supported a private estate or household, such as cooks or grooms. These people were perceived as sharing a similar characteristic—the bond with their employers was increasingly defined by money, rather than by loyalty. The contractual, instrumental nature of the servant-employer relationship is by no means a new historical phenomenon. Naomi Tadmor makes the very good point that instrumentalism and affection commonly mixed, and were not necessarily deemed to be at odds in the eighteenth-century family.[20] What is

new in this period are the first stirrings of an outraged sense of contradiction between instrumentalism and personal feelings, a sense that may well echo the new opposition between love and money as motives for marriage that McKeon sees emerging in the literary and visual culture of that time.[21] Literature on "the servant problem" joined with a variety of other discourses to open a fissure between contractual and personally affective relations that, in turn, contributes to the domestic/public division of modern British culture.[22]

Writers early in the century evidence awareness that this opposition between financial motive and affective relationships was somehow a part of greater patterns of economic change. Pamphlet and conduct literature throughout the 1700s saw "the servant problem" as symptomatic of a social malaise tied to growth in individual consumption. Daniel Defoe is among the first to link it to a distrust of "luxury": "Some think that the demand for Servants is greater in England than it us'd to be, and I believe it is so; not that I will undertake to say the Nation is richer, because that might be disputed; but that Luxury, and living is encreas'd, that I believe no-body will deny; that People live more profusely, keep greater Equipages, and more Servants, than ever was done before."[23] The connection between wasteful spending and bad urban servants persists at least through midcentury. In 1743, Eliza Haywood reiterates Defoe's link between "luxury" and "the servant problem": "It is not to be wondered at, that in an Age abounding with Luxury, and over-run with Pride, Servants should be in general so bad, that it is become one of our Calamities not to be able to live without them: Corruption, tho' it begins at the Head, ceases not its Progress till it reaches the most inferior Parts, and it is high Time to endeavour a Cure of so growing an Evil."[24] Servants are a focus for concern over British "luxury," both as symptoms of their employers' overspending and as consumers themselves: "Money prompts their Vice, and their Vice depraves their Manners."[25] As Judith Frank points out, the spread of consumerism to the lower classes, including servants, threatened to create "class leveling," a threat that was much paraded in the century's ubiquitous figure of the overdressed servant.[26]

While "the servant problem" was acknowledged as a result of "degenerate" and "luxurious" times—in other words, as a social problem—its horrors are primarily imagined in relation to the family. Unlike other poor urban workers subject to the emerging mechanisms and discourses of criminalization,[27] London domestic servants were, literally, close to home. Although they were just as exposed as day laborers to increasingly harsh laws,[28] bad servants are also seen as embodying corruption at the heart of the family; their "crimes" are perversions of intimacy, of a physical and emotional closeness debased by self-interest. Swift's *Directions to*

Servants is rife with images of physical pollution: cooks spit in their employers' food, hair and bodily secretions are served up with the family's dinner, and forced bodily contact occurs between manservant and mistress: "If you are a young sightly Fellow, whenever you whisper your Mistress at the Table, run your Nose full in her Cheek, or if your Breath be good, breathe full in her Face; this I have known to have had very good Consequences in some Families."[29] In this literature on "the servant problem," masters and mistresses are physically assaulted by self-interested servants, and troubling sexual imagery, along with metaphors of disease, are common in imagining the effects of ambitious, greedy servants on family life.[30]

This contamination is blamed, not on some lower-class essence, but on the new framing of master-servant relations as being contractual and material: "But we have Masters that choose Servants as they do their Horses; if they be strong, and able for their Work, they mind no more: though you would not bring a scabbed Sheep into your Flock; yet are there not those that bring in druncken, swearing Servants, with the Plague of Profaneness upon them, into their Houses, and lay the infected Wretches with their dear Children and other Servants?"[31] Intimacy between the master's kin, especially his children, and his retainers is the site of moral contagion when servants are hired merely as laborers. Beginning at least as early as John Locke in the late seventeenth century, theorists of education worry about the influence of domestics on the children they care for.[32] Careless or, in the case of those employing male servants in livery, status-seeking masters are often blamed for this contamination of familial intimacy.[33] But the emphasis of many writers decrying the pollution of the family by its servants tends to fall on the latter's seemingly dangerous economic and social mobility. The relative ease with which it was supposed that London domestics could find new places when dissatisfied with their old allegedly gave them an agency that was almost universally seen as a desecration of the family's privacy. Early in the century, Defoe complains that the "custom of warning" leads to "a great inconvenience to masters and mistresses," leaving them "at the mercy of every new comer to divulge your family affairs, to inspect your private life, and treasure up the sayings of yourself and friends."[34] Servants with economic mobility become intruders upon the family instead of subordinate members of it. By 1787, George Kearsley reflects acceptance of a cruel truth: the family's economy is divided between the opposing interests of master and servant.

> To expect attachment from a servant is idle, and betrays an ignorance of the world. Servants will now and then affect it, in order to gain the confidence of their employers, and thus forward their own interest; but if we suppose them in

> our interest, it is because we do not thoroughly know them. Economy in a family, servants do not like. The more extravagant a master or mistress is, they [*sic*] better they live, and the more they can purloin; and should, what they call, a generous master or mistress fail in the world, owing to a waste or an inattention to domestic concerns, they will cry to their fellow-servants, "It is a pity! He was a good-natured generous man!—Come let us go look for another place!" This being considered, we are to expect nothing from them, but a performance of their duty, keep them whilst they do it, and discharge them when they neglect it.[35]

Kearsley's despair over the loyalty of servants is striking, not because it necessarily reflects new developments in relationships between domestics and their employers—these had been contractual for a very long time—but rather because it reflects a new sense of anxiety over contractual relations within the family. Generosity and gratitude between master and servant seem to be precluded by the financial and practical motives with which these emotional bonds had previously coexisted.

What Kearsley cynically accepts as a matter of social reality—the separate and even opposing economic interests of master and servant—Defoe, writing in the first quarter of the century, struggles against, campaigning for a regulation of family life that would sustain a healthy intimacy between master and servant despite that conflict. Always ahead of his time, Defoe was one of the first to codify an emerging contradiction between individual profit motives and affective family bonds. In his instructional literature, he sought a moral and religious household regime that would bring individual incentive into line with family interest, launching what McKeon points out as one of the most important ideological "projects" of the eighteenth-century novel, the leveraging of family to guarantee the social contract.[36] Throughout the century, many other writers continue this attempt to reconcile servants' financial interests with their masters'. One of the most frequently repeated warnings to maidservants, beginning in the seventeenth century, is that a "rolling stone gathers no moss."[37] Conduct guides for servants seek to inculcate in their readers the idea that "moss"—literally, capital—is best accumulated by not exercising the most obvious employment choice open to them, the right to "give warning" and change places. For the most part, conduct literature directed at teaching servants their "place" tends to stress the alleged economic benefit of stable employment—room, board, and steady wages, all conducive to accumulating savings—while polemical grumblings directed at employers tend to declaim against the divided interests of master and servant.[38] In the ideal households presented as models of moral order and affective intimacy by

Daniel Defoe at the beginning of the century, and by Sarah Trimmer at the end, the good servant willingly gives up his or her economic agency to the larger goal of an economically healthy family, assured that his or her own security lies in a combination of strong familial bonds and personal thrift.

Despite such attempts to deny the financial basis of any division in family economic interests, the servant's ability to "give warning" and look for a better place is worried over in late texts such as Kearsley's and in early ones such as Jonathan Swift's satiric *Directions to Servants*. Swift savagely parodies instructional literature directed at servants by "teaching" the servant how best to pursue his self-interest.

> If you find yourself to grow into Favour with your Master or Lady, take some Opportunity, in a very mild Way, to give them Warning, and when they ask the Reason, and seem loth to part with you, answer that you would rather live with them, than any Body else, but a poor Servant is not to be blamed if he strives to better himself; that Service is no Inheritance, that your Work is great, and your Wages very small: Upon which, if your Master hath any Generosity, he will add five or ten Shillings a Quarter rather than let you go: But, if you are baulked, and have no Mind to go off, get some Fellow-servant to tell your Master, that he had prevailed upon you to stay.[39]

As in *The Beggar's Opera* and other early eighteenth-century conservative responses to economic and social change, Swift sees individual self-interest as transforming traditional social hierarchies into relations of pure economic greed. Later in the century, as Richard Halpern points out, self-interest takes on a more positive role in political economy's rationale for a mobile labor force: "Movement is no longer seen as a catastrophe inflicted on the working classes by means of their expropriation; instead it is conserved as inherent liberty or 'right,' which can be guaranteed only by the free market."[40] Kearsley's late eighteenth-century pessimism over servants' greed suggests, however, that Adam Smith's optimistic valuation of an invested, mobile work force[41] did not translate easily into the family's mix of contractual and affective relations. For Kearsley, as for Swift, servants motivated by personal gain disrupt the household's order, suggesting that they remained a troubling symptom of contradiction within the family throughout the century, despite the re-theorization of self-interested labor under early capitalism.

Swift's satire on domestic service is a small part of a larger conservative discourse concerned with the moral effects of many social, cultural, and economic changes besetting England, but the specific form it takes, as a parody of the newly proliferating instruction books on how to be a good servant, points to the newly

developing importance of the family as a pedagogical site for reconciling contradictions emergent with early capitalism. An ideal balance between individual desire and a viable social contract is, as McKeon and others point out, the goal that is set for the modern family, starting with the beginnings of capitalism.[42] This family, which quite literally combines relationships of blood with those of labor, becomes both a model for the larger social order, as McKeon argues, and, as Michel Foucault has famously suggested, the primary mechanism for the discipline upon which that order depends.[43] The education of children, and the responsibility of adults as educators, are implicit in the early modern family. As chapter 2 will demonstrate, servants occupy a liminal position between parent and child in this structure. They are, like children, subject to a pedagogy that teaches them to willingly subordinate individual self-interest to the good of the family as a whole, while they are, simultaneously and often troublingly, not only adults with separate economic motives, but also, often enough, the untrustworthy purveyors of that pedagogy to the family's children, especially in the role of nursemaids.

Conduct and polemical literature on "the servant problem" is my starting point in this exploration of relationships between retainers and their employers, because it clearly lays out the terms of the many and varied representations of servants in drama, the novel, and even in printed accounts of historical events concerning domestics. Chapter 2 shows that this literature creates a semiotics of servants' sexuality that is grounded in both their social and economic mobility in an emerging commercial culture and their affective role within family relations. On the one hand, domestics were positioned as pedagogical subjects within the family, parallel to but different from the children with whom they lived, served, and often cared for. On the other, they are often written about as unruly family members whose childlike subjection to the teachings and beliefs of the household often founders on one of the most important, emergent markers of the servants' difference from the family's children: sexuality. As children are gradually excluded from the field of sexuality in the second half of the eighteenth century,[44] servants, relentlessly framed throughout the century as highly sexual predators or victims, are increasingly caught between the positions of pedagogical subject and unmanageable, sexual adult.

This study will repeatedly return to conduct and polemical literature, but it moves into genres in which relations between masters and servants are imaginatively realized in ways that further complicate the contradictions in the servants' identity. I follow a roughly chronological order, tracing developments in literature about domestics from the earlier half of the eighteenth century up to the political aftermath of the French Revolution. Chapter 3 takes as its starting point

the social and literary phenomenon of Richardson's *Pamela* as a major rhetorical "event" in the literary spin-doctoring of the problematic sexuality of female servants. By fictionally realizing a sixteen-year-old servant girl with the education, the tastes, and, in general, the subjectivity of her "betters," Richardson creates a formative moment in the long, discursive struggle to articulate and socially manage the shared, affective life of domestics and their employers. After *Pamela*, literature on "the servant problem" tends to create servants as both equal and subject to their masters, reflecting the opposing relationships of friction and attachment between the two groups.

The conflicting ways in which masters see servants as both like and subordinate to them also emerge in representations arising from historical events concerning real domestic workers. Chapter 3 examines texts on one such event a decade after the publication of *Pamela*. In the early 1750s, the controversial trial of Elizabeth Canning, a servant girl whose mysterious disappearance led to one of the great unsolved mysteries of the century, occasioned pamphlet and periodical debates over her innocence or guilt that give us a popular, cultural terrain for mapping out the perceived strengths and weaknesses of Richardson's powerful argument for taking a young servant girl's moral agency seriously. The conflicting print images of Canning as, on the one hand, an innocent child and, on the other, a conniving whore, reveal the cultural impact of Richardson's heroine and the mixed feelings that she evoked. The Canning case makes it clear that at midcentury, the English mind was far from made up on the subject of "the servant problem," particularly where the sexuality of female domestics was concerned. The woman servant, by that time, embodies the culturally produced enigma of feminine desire: What does woman want?

Pamela and the pamphlet wars over Elizabeth Canning's guilt or innocence frame the problem of the woman servant as her inherent sexual availability to men. As Hannah Woolley puts it, they are the "dirty puddings" lusted after by "hungry dogs."[45] Chapter 4 juxtaposes a second novel against other literature provoked by a historical event, but with a shift in focus from the maid's sexual appeal to men to the relationships between mistresses and women servants. Literature on "the servant problem" frequently poses the intimacy that can grow between mistress and maid as a problem to be negotiated with much care, particularly on the part of the mistress. The latter's affection for her "woman" must be mediated through maternal authority over her, or this intimacy can disrupt the best-run households. For Defoe, the bond between mistress and maid can turn into a perversion of motherly affection; in *Roxana, the Fortunate Mistress*, mistress and maid love and hate each other with an intensity that leads to child-murder.

The sensational trial and hanging of Elizabeth Brownrigg, a mistress convicted of torture-murdering her apprentice girl in 1767, presents a different sort of nightmare ensuing from the mistress's failure at maternal mentoring. While *Roxana* eroticizes the labor relations between mistress and maid in ways that lead to violence, in the popular imagination, depictions of the Brownrigg case explicitly link cross-class, perverse sexual relations between women with brutality against children. Print representations of this case can be read as translating potential class conflict into individual feminine deviance. The mistress becomes a cultural scapegoat for the widespread violence against young people in service, particularly young women. This trial came to public notoriety during a period of especially intense debate over the practice of apprenticing parish children as domestic servants. The Brownrigg case allowed society to have the relief of blaming one individual's aberrations instead of facing the ugliness of England's inadequate provisions for the working poor—especially children, many of whom were apprenticed at an early age.

Chapter 5 is centered on another midcentury public controversy, this one having to do with the disruptive behavior of footmen in the London theater. By the early eighteenth century, tradition had established the footmen's sovereignty over the Drury Lane Theatre's gallery, allowing them free access to plays and a regular venue for public misbehavior. Their tendency to interrupt plays with their "noise" occasioned conflicts with other audience members, most notably in the 1737 rioting that resulted in injuries to many audience members and the arrest of several footmen. Using the context of print accounts of these historical incidents, I interpret the roles of footmen in a number of short plays or "afterpieces" (generally performed after the main play). They depict servants in livery as having sexual charisma and attractive individualism, even while they sustain an image of the footman as a dangerous sexual opportunist. These short plays, along with the long-term struggle over the Footman's Gallery, mark an emergent role for domestic menservants that grants them rights to a heterosexual, masculine privilege subordinate to but continuous with their masters' gendered sexuality.

The Footman's Gallery dispute ends in 1759, when David Garrick chose to stage James Townley's *High Life Below Stairs* at the Drury Lane Theatre in the midst of another controversy spreading across England and Scotland, the growing social movement to abolish vails (tips expected by servants from their employers' visiting guests). Not to anyone's surprise, the footmen rioted in response to the play's depiction of greedy, duplicitous servants, and Garrick seized this ripe opportunity to abolish the Footman's Gallery. Under Garrick, the Drury Lane Theatre, while still a space in which many different classes came together and sometimes

fought, often rowdily, with each other, moved toward calmer, less oppositional relations between masters and men both on and off the stage—at the cost of the footmen's claims to public voice and space. The theatrical image of the footman as the manly Englishman who gets the girl endures, however, in discursive forms that are less likely to instigate public rioting. Jonas Hanway's campaign against vails, contemporary with Garrick's abolition of the Footman's Gallery, translates the manly footman of Fielding's plays into Thomas Trueman, a liveried servant who is defined by two loves: one for his "gentle Susan" and the other for his master. This reconstruction of the dangerously sexy footman as safely and lovingly loyal to his master, while sharing with him the adult sexual role of husband, takes place over the second half of the eighteenth century, primarily in the novel.

Chapter 6 shows how the novel revised the way footmen were portrayed in conduct and polemical literature, infusing their model manservant with aesthetic life by endowing him with the virile sexuality of the stage footman, tempered by strong, affective ties to his master. As characters, Joseph Andrews and Humphry Clinker tame the sexual bravado of the theater's manservant, domesticating him as part of the patriarchal family. Reconstructing the sexy footman of the theater as part of the homosocial hierarchy is probably the most important contribution of these novels, and it is certainly the one most recalcitrant to narrative resolution. I begin with Henry Fielding's Joseph Andrews as a manly English footman who resonates with his English stage counterpart of the 1730s and 1740s. By planting his liveried servant in the novelistic soil prepared, on the one hand, by the attractive footman of the stage and, on the other, by Richardson's *Pamela*, Fielding cultivates the fictional footman as a moral and aesthetic replica of his master, building on—and, in fact, literalizing—the important notion of the servant as a child of the family.

Fielding's novelistic footman-hero Joseph becomes the virile "English Husband" reminiscent of the author's afterpieces, but only through a pointedly dated romance ending that relocates him far from the urban spaces associated with "the servant problem." The sexually potent, picaresque valet-hero of *The Adventures of a Valet* is also finally incorporated into domestic happiness, but only by denying him the authentic virility of Fielding's theatrical footman, essentially castrating the sexy manservant to transform him into a permanent child. This pair of "solutions" to the problem of the male servant's sexuality is posed against Tobias Smollett's more conservative Humphry Clinker. Smollett grants the manservant sexual potency but simultaneously installs him firmly in the subordinate position of a child within a paternalistic family. Writing at the zenith of the campaign against vails, Smollett resolves the contradiction between the footman as English

husband and as child of the family through the cross-class bond between master and man, balancing the sexuality of the manservant against equally powerful, homosocial affections.

My reading of William Godwin's *Caleb Williams* brings the theme of cross-class, homosocial bonding raised in *Humphry Clinker* into the context of Jacobin political radicalism, in order to expose the violence that lies just below the surface of master-manservant relations in the latter novel. The counterpart of the monstrous mistress, introduced by Defoe and elevated to an object of public frenzy in the Elizabeth Brownrigg case, is the violent master, whose eroticized relationship with his manservant must somehow be managed in order to support a patriarchal, familial order. The incipient violence of Smollett's Matthew Bramble is held in abeyance by the author's rejection of the urban male servant in favor of the rural manservant as (in Humphry's case, literally) a naturalized child of the family. This "solution" insures a kind patriarch and a childlike servant whose sexuality is tolerable *because* it is infantilized in subordination to upper-class masculinity. Godwin, engaged in a project of anarchistic social critique, debunks such solutions by stripping the homosocial relation between violent master and childlike male servant of its heterosexual trappings and pushing it to the level of gothic horror. The master's violence is seen as a monstrous product of history, not a personal flaw to be tamed, as in Bramble, or an instance of individual deviance, as in Elizabeth Brownrigg. Godwin, writing at the century's end, is able, with the political awareness available through English Jacobinism, to create a critique of master-servant relations that ties the personal to the political and the domestic to the social. This analysis rewrites the story of sexuality and servants to reveal desire as a product of the very power relations it was supposed to have threatened. Godwin's novel brings to the narrative surface the contradiction that informs literary representations of servant-master relations throughout the century; the dangerous and much decried sexuality of domestic affairs is in fact an erotic that lies at the very core of the connection between master and man, and mistress and maid.

This study of domestic affairs ends with a brief consideration of the memoirs of John Macdonald, a career footman. *The Memoirs of an Eighteenth-Century Footman*, like *The Adventures of a Valet* and *Caleb Williams*, is a first-person narrative written from the servant's perspective, and is probably more interesting for its recirculation of cultural tropes and stereotypes than as an "authentic" record of a historical servant's experience. Published in the same decade as *Caleb Williams*, Macdonald's *Memoirs* repeats the balancing act between self-interest and affectionate loyalty performed by model servants like Thomas Trueman. His financial and sexual individualism drives him through a series of homosocially intimate

relations with various masters while he seeks ever-expanding opportunities—as a traveling valet to English employers in India and the Continent—to enact a flashy, virile, masculine image. Finally, like the theatrical footmen of chapter 5, he leaves service to fulfill the promise of his virility as an English husband. Macdonald's relations with his masters are both motivated and broken by his own economic and erotic self-interest. Intimacy between men, at least in a serial form, is essential to balancing self-advantage and homosocial hierarchy. Macdonald's memoirs confirm the mix of individualism and homosocial intimacy underlying the male servant's heterosexual charms. What is gothic horror in Godwin's novel is business as usual for Macdonald. His reminiscences suggest that the master's anxiety over "the servant problem" may not be matched by similar worries in his manservant. While Macdonald sometimes struggles to find a balance between heterosexual virility and homosocial affection, he also creates a self-image from his peripatetic and culturally hybrid experience that is highly self-conscious and socially powerful. This autobiographical portrait of the footman reveals the potential for an inventive, creative agency in the role of manservant. What is a "problem" for the master is, perhaps, an opportunity for the man. Male servants, as Macdonald's *Memoirs* reveal, share with their masters a specific sense of sexual and social entitlement denied to their female counterparts.

The erotics of master-servant relations are not separate, or even a distraction, from the growing economic and social autonomy of the servant, but rather are a direct result of it. Just as the changing role of domestics within the family led to the class conflicts apparent in "the servant problem," it also created equally evident conditions of attraction and repulsion in the literature of that period. This book is about how these conditions came to form an important but hitherto understudied part of the story of modern sexuality. The negotiations between Pamela and Mr. B—, Roxana and Amy, Matt Bramble and Humphry Clinker, and Caleb Williams and Mr. Falkland, when read in the broader context of popular print and dramatic works about servants, as well as historical events like the Canning and Brownrigg trials and the riots over the Footman's Gallery in Drury Lane Theatre, reveal how important the language of desire is to understanding changing domestic labor relations—and vice versa. The century-long project of rationalizing these relations that is the object of this study produced modern expressions of desire and sexual identity that are as much the result of labor relations as of the supposedly more intimate realms of what was to become the oedipal family.

The then-new consciousness with which eighteenth-century British authors wrote of "the servant problem" has become the old news of our prejudices and fetishes, as codified by nineteenth-century psychology. Re-entering this conscious-

ness at an early point in its historical development offers us a surprising sense of how important the domestic affairs between servants, masters, and mistresses are to the emergent terrain of modern sexuality and to the modern family in which that sexuality allegedly comes into being. It suggests that when we study sexuality without attention to differences of social status and to what, post-Marx, we call labor relations, we miss much of the history behind our modern conceptions of identity, gender, and desire. Conversely, we need the language of gendered sexuality to fully appreciate the relationships that form around contractual labor. The modern separation between domestic and public life is not so much a screen that hides the historical "truth" about servants and their employers as it is an embodiment of one of the most important elaborations of history's "solution" to "the servant problem."

CHAPTER TWO

"In the Posture of Children"

Servants, Family Pedagogy, and Sexuality

Domestic servants, like the more familiar figures of conjugal and blood relations in historical narratives about the emergence of family and domestic ideology, are seen throughout the century as objects of instruction, people who must be taught their proper role within the family. The history of the eighteenth-century servant as a pedagogical subject runs a course parallel to but different from the history of the eighteenth-century child. While reformers such as Maria Edgeworth and Priscilla Wakefield, at the century's end, argue for a shared educational agenda for servants and children in middle-class families, theirs is far from a popular position.[1] In a tradition dating from Locke's *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, most educational theorists draw a strong distinction between servant and child in household pedagogy.[2] While both are seen as subjects of instruction, domestics are not perceived as being under the same control as their employers' children. They are too likely to flaunt middle-class propriety, scaring children with superstitious folklore or teaching them bad language. Nonetheless, the educational theories of Locke have as strong an influence on Defoe's discussions of the family's religious and moral training of its servants as on subsequent depictions of children's education. The intractability of polemical literature's "bad" servant is itself a negative image of the "good" subject for instruction who internalizes the values, behaviors, beliefs, and even aesthetics of his or her employer's family.

The image of the domestic servant as a child to be taught came readily to the imagination of British readers, because it fused seamlessly with the material state of most of their past and many of their present servants. As Ann Kussmaul demonstrates, "most youths in early modern England were servants; that so few are now is

one of the simplest differences between our world and theirs."[3] Life-cycle service, the feudal model of domestic work as a temporary phase of life through which most young people passed, was gradually displaced over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by an idea of service as a profession that could last well into a person's maturity. As a period of transition from life-cycle to professional service, the eighteenth century saw the continuation of this tendency to think of servants as children, a condition which may or may not have meshed with the particular servant's actual chronological age.[4] The older model of life-cycle service assumed that servants were, in fact, young people in training for their roles as adults, roles that they would take up in a process of organic social growth that "naturally" brought them out of service and into their life occupations. Over the course of the century, this model was increasingly displaced by a standing work force of domestics of all ages. Despite this change, the era's rationalization of a servant's childlike subjection within a patriarchal family hierarchy persists—and even grows more strident—up through Sarah Trimmer's fictionalized ideal servants in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. This justification, originally shored up by what Hugh Cunningham calls the "dominant patriarchalist theory of the seventeenth century"—that is, "the obedience which children owed to their parents was the foundation of political order"—persists into the late eighteenth century in the form of organized philanthropy and poor laws.[5] It also informed the literature on relations between masters and servants, extending from the seventeenth to well into the nineteenth century.

Both Broughton and Defoe, writing about urban domestic service at opposite ends of the century, critique these labor markets in terms that revealingly evoke the teaching of children. Defoe's corrupt "Nurseries" and Broughton's perverse "schools" point toward a pervasive tendency to think of the urban migrants who came seeking work in domestic service as children in need of a good education. Even more than the displaced servant-in-husbandry looking for a post in London, the urban apprentice, by Defoe's time, had a history of being imagined as a morally vulnerable young person whose need for the right type of teaching was all the more essential because of what was perceived as his increasing economic power. Defoe fears that the monetary value of apprenticeship will change this traditional subordination of apprentices to the parental control of their masters, complaining that "Apprentices now a days are not like what they were when you and I were Apprentices; now we get a Hundred Pound, or Two or Three Hundred Pound a Piece with them; they are too high for Reproof and Correction."[6] Defoe grumbles that they are too much like consumers, with the power to take their business elsewhere, and not enough like children, susceptible to moral as well as

practical pedagogy. Defoe urges masters to resist the commercialization of this traditional method of training and to embrace their roles as surrogate parents: "Apprentices taken into our Houses, ought, as far as it respects their Souls, to be reckon'd as Children; for as we take them from the Tuition of their Parents, if we act not the Parent to them as well as the Master, we may teach them their Trade, but we breed them up for the Devil."[7] At stake for Defoe is the concept of apprenticeship as part of a social and moral order, grounded in traditional familial —not exclusively economic—relations. To treat them as "Lodgers, not Apprentices or Servants, . . . breaks into the great Foundation, the Rule of Subordination, which I say is essential to all Family-Oeconomy."[8]

As the century went on, Defoe's particular concern over the social problem of apprentices holding too much economic power was displaced by well-documented changes in that system. Beginning in the late seventeenth century, as Joan Lane and others have demonstrated, apprenticeship, once a method of training that worked well for a relatively small and privileged group of people, gradually became more of a system of relief for impoverished young people than a means of bringing new artisans up through the ranks.[9] As increasing numbers of poor children and adolescents were "apprenticed" as domestic and menial laborers with no real hope of social or economic improvement or, in some cases, of even learning a trade, the distinction between the category of "servant" and that of "apprentice" became less and less meaningful. This distinction was fuzziest between servants and apprentices who did domestic labor. The latter generally had less economic mobility than the former, because their indenture tended to be longer than the usual contract between servant and master, but even this difference seems tenuous in the context of shortening periods of apprenticeship and the large, documented numbers of apprentices and masters who did not keep their agreements to the full extent of their terms.[10]

Parish and charity apprentices, a large proportion of whom were female children who were put to housework, were usually expected to remain domestic laborers unless they left service for marriage.[11] As the line between domestic apprentices and servants blurred, both were caught within the tension between the teachable childlike subject and the dangerously autonomous adult. We have seen this polarity in worries about the practice of "giving warning," and it increasingly characterized writings about servants as the century wore on. The fact that more and more servants who were literally children entered service through a parish apprenticeship meant that domestic servants were increasingly viewed, like the offspring of the poor generally, as either "potential criminals or as industrious artisans"[12]—in either case, firmly planted in a treacherous but hopefully educable

underclass. Along with this changing demographic in the ranks of young people going into service, transformations in the nature of children's education increasingly positioned the children of the poor, a category substantially overlapping with that of youngsters in domestic service, as sharing in the moral culture of middle-class children without becoming fully a part of that culture.

This alteration in how poor children figure in educational theory is reflected in changes in the literature written for the newly or naively literate, a group comprised of young people both in and out of service. Andrew O'Malley convincingly demonstrates a shift in children's literature over the course of the century from an unproblematic equation of moral with economic reward to a critical separation of the two. While midcentury chapbooks stress what O'Malley calls a "coach-and-six" financial remuneration for good behavior, the educational literature that flourished at the end of the century predicates proper ethical training on the ability to separate moral satisfaction from immediate financial compensation.[13] Good children still tend to do well financially, but their economic gains do not result in the dramatic class elevations of the chapbook tradition. The impoverished youth whose deeds in the earlier literature result in dramatic upward social mobility is displaced by the poor child whose goodness is rewarded with "respectable" poverty, as opposed to poverty in distress.[14] In other words, the trajectory of pedagogy and educational literature for children moves from scenarios of economic autonomy and class fluidity to narratives of moral autonomy and class stability. Young people in this trajectory, both as characters in the literature and as imagined readers, increasingly bifurcate into the poor child versus what Anne Higgonet refers to as an ostensibly classless but, in reality, a middle-class child.[15] This shift in theorizing the impact of a good education on a poor youth—changing it from a narrative of social and economic mobility to the means by which a shared moral culture grounds both social and economic differences—lent itself to thinking about servants as children who are, at worst, a particularly intractable and dangerous pedagogical subject, and, at best, humble and happy emulators of their "betters."

In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, however, literature on service and apprenticeship speaks a language drawn from what Dror Wahlman calls the *ancien régime* of identity, blurring the lines between employers' children and servants and the class-lines within families.[16] These conduct and "how-to" works urge readers to think of masters and servants, respectively, as fathers and children. Defoe exhorts his readers to "put the Master entirely upon the Father's Place, and the Servants in the Posture of Children."[17] A late seventeenth-century conduct manual insists that masters should guard the health of their retainers as they

would that of their own children.[18] The same text also calls for masters to discipline their servants as they would their children: "And what will the Discipline of a Family be, when Youth are left to the Liberty of their own Inclinations, without the Apprehension of any to question or control them?"[19] A 1674 pamphlet characterizes the employer as "Guardian," not having the same "power as a Lord hath over a Slave," but rather as a "Discipliner, or Teacher, with authority of using moderate Correction as a Father, not as a Tyrant, or otherwise."[20] Masters of apprentices, in particular, are urged to function *in loco parentis*.[21] Kearsley, writing as late as the last quarter of the eighteenth century, still maintains that "a boy, on his being put apprentice, ought to consider that his parents, or his friends, have for his advantage devolved their authority on his master; whom he should regard as deputy of those who gave him being."[22]

In conjunction with what might be called the paternalization of the master, servants were represented as children. George Rosen notices a prevalent tendency to look upon apprentices as childlike, despite the fact that many of them entered these positions in their teens.[23] That numerous masters deviated grossly from the fatherly ideal is frequently commented on,[24] and it was broadly recognized, especially as parish apprenticeship began to flood the ranks of domestic servants with the children of the poor, that the reality of apprenticeship and service was that masters often worked young people purely to extract their labor, with little or no regard to their vocational, let alone their religious and moral training.[25] The relationship between master and servant was primarily and uncomfortably economic, and is certainly acknowledged as such in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century instructional literature for servants, but it is frequently accompanied by the concurrent understanding that a domestic servant is a subordinate child, in the same need of being taught his or her proper role in the family as the family's biological children.

On one end of this opposition between contractual and affective relations, conduct manuals frequently rationalize servants' submission to familial authority through an implicit model of childhood, freeing the servants from the financial and political cares of adulthood and effectively removing them from economic relations. In 1705, William Fleetwood consoles servants for their lack of autonomy.

> The State of Servitude is accounted the meanest and the most miserable of all others, but yet it is to be made easie, though not eligible. Servants may have more of the Labours of Life, but then they have less of the Cares, than other People; their Bodies are more fatigu'd and exercis'd, but their Minds are less perplex'd: They are only concern'd in one matter, to do the work that lies before

> them, whilst others have a world of things to think on, and look after. They have their Masters only to please; their Masters, may be, are to court and humour all they deal with: They, generally speaking have themselves alone to provide for; their Masters have Wives and Children, and Relations. Whatever scarcity or dearness happens, they find but little Alteration; what-ever publick mischiefs oppress a Nation, they feel but little of them.[26]

Eliza Haywood, writing in 1743, reiterates the economic responsibility of masters and the childlike, carefree state of their servants.

> The exorbitant Taxes, and other Severities of the Times, have, for some Years past, reduced our middling Gentry, as well as Tradesmen, to very great Straits; and the Care of providing for you, and paying your Wages, is much more than an Equivalent for your Care of obliging them, and doing your Duty by them. It often costs many a bitten Lip and aking Heart, to support the Rank they have been accustomed to hold in the World, while you, entirely free from all Incumberances, all Distraction of Mind, have only to do your Duty quietly in the Stations God has placed you. Whatever Changes happen in public Affairs, your Circumstances are unaffected by them. Whether Provisions are dear or cheap is the same Thing to you. Secure of having all your real necessities supplied, you rise without Anxiety, and go to Bed without Danger of having your Repose disturbed. And as to your Labour, if you consider the Difference of Education, it is no more to you than those Exercises which are prescribed to your Superiors for the Sake of Health.[27]

Jonas Hanway's Farmer Trueman advises his daughter not to envy the superior state of her mistress, for "little dost thou know of the anxiety which attends the condition of many a master and mistress, to support their rank, in the maintenance of their servants."[28] The construction of service as a sort of prolonged childhood distinguishes the servant's adult status from that of the employer's. It also turns the servant's subordination into a kind of protective custody in which affection supplements economic interest.

Despite the many expressions of distrust directed at domestics by polemical literature on "the servant problem," many of the conduct and advice books addressing them offer affective relations with masters as an incentive to give up their relative social mobility and economic agency. The servants' childlike dependence and their freedom from economic decision-making were effectively framed by feelings of loyalty, and even love. As Hecht explains, "the harshness of this state was presumed to be greatly mitigated by the emotional or sentimental tie binding

master and servant; for it was supposed that what was in the first instance a contract would develop into a truly family bond, characterized by mutual devotion."[29] Eliza Haywood reasons with her servant-readers: "Methinks, if you would thoroughly weigh the Comforts of your condition, you could not help having an Affection for those under whose Roof and Protection you enjoy them, especially when they behave to you with any tolerable Degree of Affability and Sweetness; for then not to love them would be the highest Ingratitude."[30] Servants should give up the power to "give warning" in exchange for the rewards of this affection: "Nothing is so comfortable and creditable to all parties, as when a servant lives many years in the same family. Such servants never want a real friend."[31] "The servant problem" literature consistently tries to guide domestic workers away from financial autonomy into a childlike dependence on the family.

Concern over servants' greed eroding their loyalty reached a crisis point in the drive to abolish vails, the tips domestic servants traditionally expected from house-guests. Beginning around midcentury and successfully concluded by the 1780s, the campaign against vails justified the abolition of this traditional perquisite by idealizing the familial bond between servants and their masters and mistresses.

> This custom [of giving vails] has totally destroyed the reciprocal relation between master and servant, instituted by authority no less than divine. On whom does a servant where vails are taken depend, on his master? No, on the guests; as these increase the servant is willing to keep or leave his place. Can a master expect fidelity, love or gratitude, from a servant who is always grumbling when the house is not filled with vails-giving company; and lives with him with such uncertainty, that his staying or going from quarter to quarter depends merely on the number and disposition of his visitants?[32]

The literature against vails specifically targets the "great houses" of the landed gentry, where less wealthy visitors could find the pressure to tip domestic servants both expensive and unpleasant. Anxiety over servants' greed is not, then, confined to servants of the "Town," although the latter often collect it like lightning rods. The crisis over vails, which resulted in the gradual abeyance and eventual end of this traditional source of servants' "extra" income by the end of the century, also reinforced a particular class-based model for healthy relations between servants and their employers. As the century wears on, the family in which the retainer forms these emotional bonds increasingly is of the "middling" sort that employs two or three servants, not the "great house" with dozens.[33] The affective language tying domestics to families intertwines with an anti-aristocratic strain that gathers force in the final third of the century. Sarah Trimmer's model servant Thomas

compares the parental care of his master and mistress to the callousness of Lord and Lady Townley, who simply cast off on the public charge any servants who can no longer work for them because of age or disability.[34] Increasingly, over the course of the century, what links servants to masters are the affective relations of middling domesticity. Even as the concept of the servant as child of the family came under rising pressure from the strain of parish apprenticeship, the family as pedagogical unit, bound together by emotional rather than contractual ties, played a more and more important role in theorizing "good" relations between domestic workers and their employers. Much of a family's obligation to perform its often-observed role as the disciplinary mechanism of early modern capitalist culture came, then, from the imperative to address internal contradictions arising within families that blended contractual with affective relations. The domestic servant is no mere bit player in the ideological and authoritarian centrality of the family in this fledgling stage of our current capitalist society, but is instead a key factor, one of the primary motives for its modern formation.

The family's pedagogical "work" was organized around the parallel education of its children and its domestics. Good servants, like good children, do not come naturally, but must be made through a laborious process of early and ongoing instruction. As the century progresses, the education of employers' children is more and more sharply divided from that of child-servants or future servants. Writers in the first half of the century tend to argue that the master is the primary teacher in this process,[35] and that the family is the key pedagogical unit, blending the instruction of the family's biological children with that of the servants. Educating a domestic worker is not merely a matter of teaching him or her to do the job, but a moral and religious obligation, and is particularly strong in relation to apprentices. One of Defoe's fictionalized fathers tells the master that his child "is under your Family Care, as to his Body, he is your Servant; but as to his Soul, I think, he is as much your Son as any Child you have."[36] But Defoe extends this spiritual responsibility to all the retainers in the household, who, in his ideal family, attend regular prayers and services led by the master of the house.[37] In the words of one manual on domestic service, "every Master is a Priest in his own Family; and I have often thought this Obligation to teach and govern his Servants, is much greater than that of a Minister to any particular Family in his Charge."[38] Besides making sure that his servants participate in prayers, Defoe's good master is responsible for their complete moral surveillance: "His Time is yours, and you ought to know how he spends it; if any of his Time is employ'd out of your Business, you ought to exact an Account of it from him, how it has been disposed

of, as much as you would of Money that you had trusted him with, how he had paid it."[39] *The Family Instructor* places particular emphasis on policing servants' Sundays, making sure that they attend church instead of walking in the fields around London or, worse, attending one of its places of public amusement. In Defoe's model households, servants are monitored and instructed in tandem with the family's biological children.

Complaints that masters fail in their duties are, however, as common, if not more so, than praise for those who attain the ideal. In the second half of the century, the lament often takes a gently nostalgic or anti-aristocratic form, as exemplified in this commentary by Hanway's Farmer Trueman: "I do not find that it is a custom or fashion among the gentry to say any thing at all about devotion, neither as it relates to themselves, nor their servants . . . My master used sometimes to give his sentiments in company, in a rational and familiar manner, like a man and a Christian, as I thought: but I am sorry to tell thee Mary, his acquaintance, who were otherwise sober people, were generally as silent as the grave."[40] In addition to the employer's failure to teach his or her servants, the families from which servants were recruited are blamed for the latter's poor preparation for service. Beginning early in the century, many children among the working poor were seen as unlikely to receive the kind of education that would make them good retainers. John Waugh, in *A Sermon Preach'd at the Parish Church of St. Bridget, alias Bride, August 24th, 1713*, flatters his audience that "the true Reason why the Children of the poorer sort, who are born Servants, do not discharge their Duty as they should, is the Want of those Advantages which you have had. They were never acquainted with the Ways of God and Religion; their Minds never seasoned with Divine Things; but from their Infancy they were bred up in Ignorance and Sloth, and a total Neglect of all those Qualifications which are required to make a good Servant."[41] He praises his audience's education for the sense of "obligations" which will set them above the "many slothful and dishonest, stubborn and treacherous Servants, who create so great Trouble, and do so much Mischief to Families."[42] Some families, it is clear, are more likely to teach their children how to be good servants than others. Poor youngsters, most likely to be "born Servants," are least likely to receive the religious and social education that would lead to domestic industry and a proper sense of "obligations." Hence the social project of molding good servants becomes, as the century goes on, a larger and larger part of the pedagogical agenda of philanthropy, directed at the offspring of the working poor who were entering service through the door of parish apprenticeship in ever-increasing numbers. Defoe's faith in a good master's or mistress's ability to reform

any domestic and keep him or her on the straight and narrow is increasingly supplemented by a belief in the need for public measures in instructing the indigent so as to prepare them to be good servants.

By the end of the century, education for poor children makes all the difference between a good and a bad servant. As Sarah Trimmer remarks in 1787, "it is a general complaint that domestic servants are not attached to their masters and mistresses, but act towards them from selfish and mercenary motives . . . This may justly be imputed to their being sent into the world without a proper sense of the duties of their station."[43] Reformers like Trimmer focus on ongoing instruction for the poor, beginning in childhood and supported into adult life, as a public obligation of the class employing servants, not just the private duty of the master and mistress within the household.

> If our servants are profane and immoral for want of our admonition, we shall be called to a strict account for it: It is unreasonable to complain of their dishonesty and corruption, if we take no pains to instruct them, and allow them no time for divine worship: a kind of Sunday-evening-school in every family would be a likely means of reforming many and is a very necessary succedaneum to Sunday-schools for children; the benefit of which may be rendered ineffectual to the most important purposes of life, if religious instruction ceases as soon as young people are dismissed from the schools. Many servants may be adverse to receiving these instructions; but, if they persist in refusing them, they certainly should be dismissed, as improper members of a Christian family: many others will accept them with thankfulness, and repay their kind benefactors with gratitude and affection.[44]

"The education of youth," a pamphlet contemporary to Trimmer contends, is "so indispensable, that, without it, punishment becomes not only useless, but cruel. Children should first be taught what is right, before they are corrected for doing what is wrong: poor infants are most likely to learn the latter, from their necessitous, negligent, and perhaps wicked parents, and should therefore be totally removed from them at a very tender age; certainly not later than ten; and apprenticed to all inhabitants in the parish, of good characters, who have occasion for servants."[45] Whereas Defoe saw the solution to "the servant problem" as the master's strict supervision of a retainer's time and activities within the domestic sphere, the emphasis in the reforming literature of the late eighteenth century is on the public-sphere education of future servants as much as on governing them when they are part of the employer's household. This shift in focus from family regulation to public instruction for children is one of the most significant changes

to take place in theories of servant-master relations over the century's course. It is concurrent with and contributes to what Linda Pollock argues is an important alteration in thinking about children in the early nineteenth century, the idea of the poor child as a worthy object of public support and education.[46] Accompanying this shift is a growing concern with servants' literary consumption, a concern which parallels the century's emerging awareness of children's education and literacy. As the percentage of domestics who were able to read steadily grew, writers for and about servants are increasingly conscious of how books and other texts affect their moral nature. As Judith Frank observes, "along with women and apprentices, servants stood at the boundary of the literacy/non-literacy divide, and as such were a particular source of anxiety to the eighteenth-century ruling class, which was acutely aware of the ideology-forming powers of the printed word."[47]

In the context of a growing consciousness of education's and, by extension, literacy's importance, tracts on how to be a good servant flourished, ranging from ethical and religious meditations to how to starch a mistress's lace trimmings. It is difficult to know how many domestics actually read the many conduct books that discuss a servant's duties using a second-person pronoun, or how important these books were in the lives of real servants and the families that employed them. As Frank forthrightly comments on the "plentiful figures on literacy in the premodern period," "literacy was class and gender based, the upper classes and men becoming literate first; . . . those in the city were more apt to be able to read and write than those in the country; . . . and servants, with their emulation of their masters' ways, and their roles as cultural intermediaries between the upper and lower classes, were a particular source of irritation to those who feared that reading and writing would create desires for upward mobility. It seems safe to say that in early-eighteenth-century England some servants, and some women, and some apprentices could read."[48] It seems even safer to say that "the servant problem" writers certainly assumed that large numbers of domestic workers were literate and were worried by that assumption. In her late eighteenth-century educational tracts, Sarah Trimmer's fictionalized Tom and Betty spend their evenings perusing books such as *Serious Advice and Warning to Servants*, but whether or not historical Toms and Betties did so is hard to say. Jan Fergus's work on servants' reading habits suggests that while domestics could claim a fair percentage of literacy by midcentury, they, like other more-or-less literate groups, did not confine themselves to such "useful" reading matter, instead including a range of fictional texts, especially plays, in their literary fare.[49] My claims about conduct literature directly addressed to a servant reader are, admittedly, based in rhetorical, not reception analysis. However servants may have interpreted these texts—if,

indeed, they did read them—their representations of the servant as both child and adult worker set some of the most important terms for writing about domestic service. The models they present, from maid-of-all-work to butler, provided a vocabulary and helped consolidate model roles for domestics and their employers in relation to each other. Servants and masters both, however, probably lived out richly complicated, highly variable relationships within the wide range of possibility defined by a tension between intimacy and formal hierarchy. One of the reasons that this study includes plays and novels in addition to instructional and polemical literature on service is that these texts depict a wider range of interactions between masters and servants and more possible roles for each—not all of them "good" by conduct literature's standards—than nonfiction works on domestic service.

Writers of instructional literature are well aware of and often warn against the diversity of servants' depictions—as well as a range "bad" behaviors—in other genres. Plays are the most widely distrusted one in Samuel Richardson's generation, with novels assuming a comparable role by the end of the century. The playhouse, however, is a danger spot throughout the century, a place where bad behavior can be learned and reinforced. Richardson advises keeping apprentices away from the theater, because certain popular dramatic forms encourage too much identification with and sympathy for criminals.

> Now the horrid Pantomine and wicked Dumb Shew, the infamous Harlequin Mimicry, introduc'd for nothing but to teach how to cozen, deceive, and cuckold; together with the wretched Group of Rogues, form'd from the Characters of Shepherd, Jonathan Wild, Blueskin, and in fine, from every Rogue that has made a Noise in the World by his superlative Wickedness, has yielded the principal Characters exhibited, and that not for the Sake of Poetical Justice, in their Execution, but to divert the Audience by their Tricks and Escapes; and if they have been brought to Justice at last, it has been in such a Manner, as to move the Pity of the Audience for them.[50]

Servants should not be allowed to identify with the criminals who were often, as Peter Linebaugh and Lincoln Faller demonstrate, heroic figures to poor Londoners.[51] Richardson's one exception is George Lillo's *The London Merchant, or the History of George Barnwell*, a play performed throughout the century as a Shrove Tuesday "treat" for London apprentices: "I know but of one Instance, and that a very late one, where the Stage has condescended to make itself useful to the City-Youth, by a dreadful Example of the Artifices of a lewd Woman, and the

Seduction of an unwary young Man; . . . I mean, the Play of George Barnwell, which has met with the Success that I think it well deserves; and I could be content to compound with the young City Gentry, that they should go to this Play once a Year, if they would condition, not to desire to go oftener, till another Play of an equally good Moral and Design were acted on the Stage."[52] Not surprisingly, this play dramatizes the importance of affective bonds between servants and masters and the danger that a morally degenerate, "Town" sexuality poses to those bonds—the same message contained in Richardson's and many other instructional texts for apprentices and male domestics.

Given the ubiquitous presence of servants in London theaters, more drama reached the ears and eyes of domestics than just Lillo's play. The theater, as both a social and a representational space, offered male servants, in particular, alternatives to the childlike subject of the pedagogical project of instructional literature. Footmen, especially, made up a significant part of the theatrical audience for much of the century and, as will be discussed in chapter 5, saw themselves represented in characters who, in contrast to the London manservant of conduct literature, were attractive precisely because they were autonomous adults, especially in the area of sexuality. (Richardson's imperative to keep servants out of the theater, like Defoe's objections to servants participating in leisure activities on Sundays, can be read as part of an effort, from Defoe to Trimmer, to keep servants safe at home, though it seems doubtful that many servants obeyed this dictum.) During the second half of the century, anxieties about domestics' literary consumption include the novel. Sarah Trimmer's ideal servants eschew novels and instead pour over conduct manuals such as *A Present for Servants, Serious Advice and Warning to Servants*, and Hanway's *Domestic Happiness Promoted*.[53] In Trimmer's imaginary ideal family, a suspect new cook introduces "a history," but the servants Thomas and Kitty "found it full of nonsense about lords, and ladies, and 'squires, falling in love with one another, and running away from their parents, and shooting themselves, and sort of stuff, as neither he nor Kitty at all liked, for it would not teach them any thing of their duty either to God or man."[54] Trimmer's work suggests some of the subversive potential of servants reading romances that, viewed in the prosaic candlelight of the domestics' recreational reading, are none too flattering to the landed gentry. At any rate, the model of class difference in the texts approved by Trimmer is both more banal and more insidious than that imagined in the romance novel. It involves moral, aesthetic, and religious standards that are shared by masters and servants, even as it locks them into their respective positions of "duty." The regulation of domestic workers within the

family depends upon an educational project that brings children of the family and servants together as learners, as subjects in the making, without, however, suggesting permeability between the economic and social standing of the two groups.

By the early nineteenth century, literature written specifically for servants' consumption offers them a range of pursuits and pastimes remarkably close to those of the higher-class children they so often cared for. They share much of the moral, intellectual, and aesthetic experience of their adult employers, but, also like children, their learning is constrained within the realm of leisure pastimes and constructive play. *The Servant's Magazine*, a mid-nineteenth-century compilation of stories, poetry, and practical advice for servants, offers not just instruction on how to be a good retainer, but models of aesthetic experience and intellectual aspiration that are suitable for someone in service. "The Nurse Maid Walks Out with Her Children" is a recurring feature in which the nursemaid is shown how to engage her charges in discussions of birds and plant life that will help cultivate a proper aesthetic and scientific appreciation of nature in both herself and her young charges. Teaching people how to be good servants involved more than rules; it required them to invest in a sensibility—the means to subjective pleasures that in no way threaten the social or familial order—while offering the assurance of cross-class participation.[55]

By the century's end, servants could share, as much as their employers did, in what was, after all, the age of education, with its conduct books, charity schools, and "complete" instructions on how to be anything from a scullery maid to Lord Chesterfield's heir. Literacy is viewed as simultaneously bridging and sustaining the gap between servants and masters. The nineteenth-century mavens of conduct literature for domestics, Sarah and Samuel Adams, offer "Hints on Self-Improvement" to the footmen, who were often considered highly problematic because of their detachment from productive labor: "We may observe that no situation admits of more opportunities for self-improvement than that of the Footman. He has much leisure time which cannot be better employed than in reading profitable books, by which we mean such as will amuse and at the same time instruct him, and thus open to him innumerable enjoyments, which must be quite unthought of by those whose education has been neglected in their earlier years." The Adamses do not, however, see "Self-Improvement" through reading as the means to financial security. (The way to more material "improvement" is simple prudence and a good relationship with one's employer: "by industry and economy, many servants have secured an independence, or in some cases of legacies from their late masters to reward them for past integrity.") The main purpose of a manservant's literacy is keeping him happy in his position and out of

trouble: "Books, however, are now so cheap, and good as they are cheap, that every servant who studies his own enjoyment will strive to possess a few volumes, which will often keep him out of bad habits and altogether render him a better informed and more useful member of society."[56] Leisure reading, by the nineteenth century, was at least theoretically one of the most important mechanisms for keeping both children and domestic workers contented in their appointed roles. But while reading was supposed to prepare employers' children to take their places in public and private life as middle-class citizens, the same literate practices were designed to provide servants—and the class of poor children from which they are generally assumed, by the end of the century, to belong—satisfaction with their lot as subordinates within the family and in society.

In some of the literature on service, writing is also approved as a means by which domestics can be both happier and more useful. Hanway, notably, recommends that women servants be taught to write because it would extend their functionality in matters of household management.[57] Happy, productive servants share many skills, values, and even pleasures with their employers, but, unlike their employers' children, who are expected to grow out of their subordinate roles into adulthood, domestics are not seen as reading and writing their way out of service. Instructional literature sustains a fixed notion of the difference between masters and servants by circumscribing the latter's "self-improvement" within the realms of domestic work and leisure. "In the posture of children," servants could participate in education and the affective bonds of the family without claiming equal status to their masters; they could be "part of the family" without challenging the economic and social hierarchy. This happy resolution to "the servant problem" was not, of course, the only take on servants' literacy. As Frank notes, "servants, with their emulation of their masters' ways, and their roles as cultural intermediaries between the upper and lower classes, were a particular source of irritation to those who feared that reading and writing would create desires for upward mobility."[58] Nor was anyone deluded, obviously, into thinking that domestic servants were literally children. Like the nursemaid, they are expected to function as responsible adults—perhaps not adults with the full range of responsibilities carried by their employers, but adults nonetheless. But also like the nursemaid, their mature interests and pleasures were expected to remain within the sanctified realm of domestic leisure. Servants did not read or study plant life in order to prepare themselves for some other kind of work, but rather to be more content and effective as servants.

In sum, instructional literature on domestic service defines a role within the family that is like a child's—or at least a poor child's—but yet is not a child's. Being

"in the posture of children" is not the same as being children. It entails a certain conscious assuming of position, striking a pose, or taking a place. It is learned behavior that mimics the "natural" subordination of youth to adult authority, as well as opening up an intellectual and aesthetic culture that can be shared differently by various members of the family. And, like youngsters in the culture of education that developed since Locke, a servant was not born into his or her position, but had to be trained into it. Unlike children, however, domestics were also seen, particularly by "the servant problem" literature, as having adult characteristics that, particularly in the later decades of the century, did not fit neatly into "the posture of children." Most notably, servants were seen as relentlessly and problematically sexual within the domestic leisure culture that they shared with increasingly de-sexualized children. If, as many historians of childhood argue, the eighteenth century saw the emergence of the sexually innocent child, one who must be protected from adult eroticism,[59] then the servant's relentless sexualization throughout the century forms another important line of separation within the early modern family. The sexuality of servants, male and female, serves as a foil against which the sexually innocent middle-class child comes into historical relief.

THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF SERVANTS' SEXUALITY

Servants are not supposed to have sex; servants are always having sex. This contradiction is the most obvious conclusion one can draw from polemical literature on "the servant problem" and from much of the instructional literature written for domestics, especially women. In the historical record, maidservants are a majority among women charged with infanticide,[60] and Tim Meldrum has documented the prevalence of carnal relations between masters and maids in the eighteenth century.[61] The sexual lives of male servants are harder to trace. But it seems highly probable that many domestics did not follow the rule of living chaste until they left service, *if* they left service, usually in their late twenties or older. Whatever the facts, the sexuality of both male and female domestics emerges across literary genres as a trouble spot in the shared leisure culture and affective bonds between masters and servants.[62] Whatever servants were or were not doing in bed, the kitchen, the privy, or the hall, conduct literature on domestic service ascribes as much of "the servant problem" to their sexual misbehavior as to their greed.

Servants' sexuality fits awkwardly, if at all, into popular literary narratives of family and domestic life. It certainly unfits them for the ideal of sexual innocence that dominates childhood in the late eighteenth century. Unlike their adult employers, domestic workers, both early and late in the century, have no licit venue

for sexual desire. Like their masters, they are supposed to look forward to marriage, but, paradoxically, once they arrive at that goal they are, theoretically, no longer servants.[63] Therefore, while employer and retainer are joined in many other shared realms of experience, the narrative patterns of courtship discernible in novels, sermons, and conduct literature do not readily follow the trajectory of a life in service. One can see this awkwardness in Sarah Trimmer's ideal servants, Thomas and Kitty, who spend their teens and twenties chastely reading the Bible and *A Present for Servants* together in the kitchen at night, until their master's death releases them from service. At that point, they suddenly fall in love, marry, and set up as small farmers.[64] No breath of desire rumples the smooth asexuality of their domestic life prior to that moment, despite what Trimmer and her readers must have known about close quarters and cramped sleeping arrangements in a middling household with two or three servants.[65] At the same time, the literature is dense with the belief that servants are not only "normal" in their desires and temptations, but also that they are, if anything, oversexed. The innocence of Thomas and Kitty is contradicted by the pervasive and overwhelming sense that domestic relations involving servants are never innocent. "On all unnecessary occasions," warn the Adamses, "avoid as much as possible being alone with the other sex: as the greatest mischiefs happen from small circumstances."[66] Domestics, then, are held to the strictest standard of chastity, while simultaneously occupying an intensely sexualized position in the cultural imagination. Polemics on the servant problem, as well as instructional literature for employers and retainers, rail against lewd, drunken male servants who prey upon the daughters and wives of their masters, as well as their sluttish female counterparts who entrap the family's apprentices and sons. Women servants cause trouble in families even without active effort. Just by being, their sexuality threatens to ensnare any man, servant or master, who comes within their purview.

Polemical and instructional literature represent the sexuality of both men and women servants as an obstacle to the incorporation of domestics within the shared leisure culture of the family, but with an important, gendered difference. The male servant, particularly the footman in his glamorous livery and trim white stockings, may be and often is ridiculed and sexually objectified as a sort of pinup for both female servants and their mistresses, but he is nonetheless also seen as a man, not an entirely passive victim of his own sexual appeal. As the importance of gendered hierarchy as a principle of social order grows over the century's course,[67] male servants begin to participate in the sexual and gendered prerogatives of their masters, albeit not as social equals. The status and agency that women servants gain through their sexuality are, by contrast, increasingly limited as cults of chas-

tity and conjugal love come to dominate middle-class feminine ideology. Female domestics need not even be conventionally attractive to cause trouble within the family. They do so by the very fact that they are women. Whether or not women servants share the ethical standards of their employers, they are rendered morally helpless, or at least weak, by their inevitable sexual availability. As the literature on "the servant problem" makes clear, the choice to be chaste is not necessarily in their power; the choice to be a whore is far too easily within reach. An all-too-familiar double standard invests male servants' sexual magnetism with at least some, albeit qualified, volition; women are seen as inherently passive victims of their own sexuality. For both male and female servants, domestic relations, theoretically the venue for their inclusion in the social and disciplinary mechanism of the family, are also the locus of the sexuality that unfits them for their subordinate participation in the increasingly middle-class culture of that family.

Female Servants

Conduct literature shows an overwhelmingly clear consensus: any female domestic servant is a walking sexual target. As Hannah Woolley warns the prospective cook-maid, "beware of the solicitations of the flesh, for they will undo you; and though you may have mean thoughts of your self, and think none will meddle with such as you; it is a mistake, *Hungry Dogs will eat dirty Puddings*."[68] Eliza Haywood agrees with Woolley on the sexual vulnerability of the female domestic servant, no matter how plain or circumspect she might be: "Being so much under his [the master's] Command, and obliged to attend him at any Hours, and at any Place he is pleased to call you, will lay you under Difficulties to avoid his Importunities, which it must be confessed are not easy to surmount."[69] Haywood's catalogue of the men from whom the maid must defend herself includes the master, the master's son, the gentleman lodger, apprentices, and male servants—all the male members of the family.[70] For many writers from Defoe to Trimmer, however, the sexually magnetic nature of the London maidservant is understood not only as its own social and moral problem, but as a byproduct of her (sexually saturated) choice, yet another twist in the problems allegedly created by her economic agency and social mobility.

Sex, for many writers in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, is represented as a means by which female servants can gain a morally suspect power. Writing of the frequency with which masters have sex with their female servants, Thomas Seaton warns: "Let the Woman see to it that this Danger is not in a good Degree owing to her self," "for if she by any Wantonness of Behaviour, or

Looseness and Immodesty in Dress, takes a Pride in being viewed with Admiration, and bewitching the Hearts of the Unwary, she her self lays the Stumbling Block in their Way."[71] The maid's sexual attractiveness gives her choices, albeit only dangerous ones. In his *Directions to Servants*, Swift satirically debates which lovers a chambermaid should take: "Your usual Lover, as I take it, is the Coachman; but, if you are under Twenty, and tolerably handsome, perhaps a Footman may cast his Eyes on you."[72] More pointedly, Swift's maid uses her sexuality to gain social mobility. His waiting-maid may aspire further up the family hierarchy: "If you are handsome, you will have the Choice of three Lovers; the Chaplain, the Steward, and my Lord's Gentleman. I would first advise you to chuse the Steward; but if you happen to be young with Child by my Lord, you must take up with the Chaplain."[73] The woman servant's sexuality is rhetorically knitted into the problem of her alleged social mobility and economic agency. Like her mistress's castoff silk gowns, the maid's ability to attract desire across class lines made her a disturbingly mobile figure in the literature on service. Much of the print hysteria about women servants wearing their mistress's castoff clothing reflects a concern that sartorial shape-shifting enables a kind of sexual class-climbing. The threat posed by that mobility is, however, counterbalanced by what seems to be a contradictory assumption that the woman servant is sexually passive, even helpless, and unable to capitalize on her sexual attraction. This assumption gathers force over the course of the century, rewriting Swift's sexually opportunistic maid as simply another kind of female victim, the innocent ruined by her own lack of options.

Instructional literature for women servants tends to polarize into two contradictory and, probably for the women themselves, equally unhelpful positions on the maid's inevitable sexual attraction: on the one hand, the maid is an innocent victim, by definition unable to act in her defense; on the other, she is condemned as a sexual entrepreneur. Eliza Haywood, for example, tries to advise the female servant to take some course of action to fend off unwanted male attention, but she is hard put to imagine what the maid might actually do if her master presses the issue: "A steady Resolution will enable you; and as a vigorous Resistance is less to be expected in your Station, your perservering may, perhaps, in Time, oblige Him to desist and acknowledge you have more Reason than himself."[74] Many writers on the subject do not even offer this faint hope, dwelling on the pathos of victimization rather than giving practical strategies for avoiding rape or seduction. Like Pamela's father, Farmer Trueman would "rather see thy blood stream from thy bosom, than behold thee, in the arms, even of a king, on any terms but an honourable marriage."[75] Thomas Broughton exhorts women in service to "beg of God to bestow on you the gift of chastity,"[76] and it is hard to know, after reading the

literature, from where else that "gift" might come. Farmer Trueman tells his daughter that "you must consider your own prayers as your surest guard."[77] A consciousness of one's own religious and moral virtue provides high moral ground, as Richardson's *Pamela* illustrates at length, but Richardson had to perform rhetorical gymnastics and stir up one of the most wide-reaching public controversies of the century in order to give his fictional maidservant the power of refusal.

Chapter 3 dwells in greater detail on the subject of Pamela and the celebrations and debates she set off in British popular culture. For now, suffice to say that, for much of the early and some of the late literature on "the servant problem," if the female servant were not viewed as an innocent victim, she was seen as a guilty whore. Defoe, for example, characterizes the London housemaid as "slippery in the tail,"[78] and Kearsley, as late as 1787, writes dismissively that "there are few servant-maids in London, or indeed in the country, but what are Whores."[79] From midcentury, more sympathetic writers, such as Haywood, are less likely to assume the woman servant is a natural slut and are more likely to see prostitution not as her choice, but as a danger threatening the innocent servant: "Every street affords you Instances of poor unhappy creatures, who once were innocent, till seduced by the deceitful Promises of their undoers; and then ungratefully thrown off, they become incapable of getting their Bread in any honest Way, and so by Degrees are abandoned to the lowest Degree of Infamy." The seduced and abandoned servant "ends her miserable Days in an Hospital or Work-House, in case she can be admitted, tho' some have not even that Favour, but found their Death-bed on a Dunghill."[80] Trimmer offers yet more examples of the many, many women servants in the literature of the century's second half who slide from servant to prostitute: "She lost her place and her character too, . . . and then took to walking the streets of nights, as many poor wicked creatures do . . . they are frequently beat and abused worse than dogs, and sometimes taken up by the watchmen and put into Bridewell, where they beat hemp . . . Many learn to drink drams, in order to drown care, and kill themselves that way." From midcentury on, instructional literature for servants increasingly sentimentalizes female domestics who turn to prostitution. Even the cold-blooded whoring that Defoe and Kearsley attribute to women servants becomes, by late in the century, another form of women's helplessness, their lack of access to sexual choice.

The literature also tends to associate the prostitute's bitter end with the woman servant's more prosaic options, in particular that of dress. As Trimmer concludes in her admonitions about the miserable lives of prostitutes, "the sight of such wretches ought to be a warning to all young girls, who are in low stations, not to be fond of finery, or of giving their company to idle men, who flatter only to delude

them."[81] Trimmer is not alone in linking the maid's prostitution with the practice of cross-class dressing. Broughton warns women servants against "dressing above your rank or station," "for this will be wearing the attire of an Harlot, and all sober people will suppose you to do it with a design to allure and entrap the men."[82] Farmer Trueman warns his daughter, "as thou lovest thy soul, not to indulge any desire of being gaudily attired. If thou shouldest feel thine heart incline to this vanity, get thyself cured of it, as a disease, which if neglected will prove mortal. Childish as this passion is, I know that it hath been the ruin of thousands."[83] Cross-class dressing indicates a woman servant's attempt to use her sexuality to her own advantage, an attempt that instructional literature dooms as her "ruin." It is another variation on the allegedly dangerous mobility of the female domestic. Changing her clothes, like changing her place, gives her a suspect autonomy from the disciplinary family and her subordinate identity within it.

Another predominant motif in "the servant problem" literature frames the female servant's ability to sell her labor as potential prostitution. The literature repeatedly plays out the Fanny Hill scenario of the young woman just come to town, looking for a place and therefore vulnerable to procuresses. Haywood warns the female domestic of "Houses which have no public Shew of Business, are richly furnished, and where the Mistress has an Air of the strictest Modesty . . . Yet under such Roofs, and under the Sanction of such Women as I have described, are too frequently acted such Scenes of Debauchery as would startle even the Owners of some Brothels."[84] Jonas Hanway imagines a similar fate for many women servants: "Well do I remember some of my good neighbours' daughters, who nothing would please but going up to London, as if they were sure of making their fortunes. Some of them have lived virtuously, single or married, and succeeded in the world; but it hath fared ill with several of the most distinguished for comeliness. As soon as they arrived in town, they fell into the snares of those abandoned procuresses, who under a pretence of getting them good places, brought them like birds to the net, or lambs to the slaughter."[85] Prostitution, early and late, hedges the woman servant's few choices over disposing of her labor and even impinges on her choice of what to wear.

Writers early in the century, such as Defoe, are less likely to evoke the "birds" and "lambs" of sentimental discourse. The pity that emerges in response to maids-turned-whores in Hanway develops later in the century, in congruence with the historical emergence of discourses of sensibility and philanthropy. For Defoe, the sexually errant maid is not a victim but a sort of landlocked sexual pirate on the high seas of urban culture: "Thus many of them rove from place to place, from bawdy-house to service, and from service to bawdyhouse again, ever unsettled and never

easy, nothing being more common than to find these creatures one week in a good family, and the next in a brothel. This amphibious life makes them fit for neither, for if the bawd uses them ill, away they trip to service, and if their mistress gives them a wry word, whip they are at a bawdyhouse again, so that in effect they neither make good whores nor good servants."[86] The maid's "amphibious" ability to slip from "good family" to "brothel" threatens the patriarchal heart of the family. In his hysterically rambling diatribe, *Augusta Triumphans*, Defoe imagines the disastrous results of the female servants' economic mobility as "deviant" sex.

> While we want servants to do our work, those hundreds, as they call them, are crowded with numbers of idle impudent sluts, who love sporting more than spinning, and inveigle our youth to their ruin; nay, many old lechers, beasts as they are, steal from their families, and seek these harlots' lurking holes, to practise their unaccountable schemes of new invented lewdnesses; some half hang themselves, others are whipped, some lie under a table and gnaw the bones that are thrown them, while others stand slaving among a parcel of drabs at a washing tub. Strange that the inclination should not die with the power, but that old fools should make themselves the prey and ridicule of a pack of strumpets![87]

Defoe lays out the component parts of a complex articulation of women's economic and sexual agency that adds up to perversion. The sadomasochistic scenes that he imagines make the threat to family order posed by the female servant's sexual and economic power graphically clear. Domestic hierarchy is betrayed, and the patriarchal family is perverted. "Youth," "old lechers," and "these harlots' lurking holes" mix it up under the kitchen table and among the washing tubs in scenarios that confuse women servants' domestic labor with illicit sexual services. It is significant that the perversion of relations between masters and servants takes the particular form of sadomasochism. As McKeon observes, "only when sex is separated out as 'sex as such'—does it become possible self-consciously to conflate sex and (politico-bellico-rhetorical) violence in such a way as to serve the ends of sexual desire and pleasure through the complex network of responses we have come to call 'masochism' and 'sadism.'"[88] The newly threatening economic agency of the maidservant helped to create conditions by which sexual desire takes on a dangerous life of its own, serving neither family nor state, but its autonomously "perverse" logic.

The woman servant of polemics on "the servant problem" and instructional literature for domestics tends to slip into either victimization or a cold-blooded sexual entrepreneurship. Her ability to make choices about how to best profit from her labor is imagined by Defoe as perverse sexual power. Later writers tend

to see her more sympathetically as the innocent victim of her own erotic identity. In either case, her sexuality becomes a force of its own, a "problem" in both private and public domains. The maid was, of course, portrayed in plays and novels in roles other than innocent victim or guilty whore. (It goes without saying that she was much more in life.) She can be the tricky companion to the witty heroine of dramatic comedy; she can be the reflective Lucy of Lillo's *London Merchant*, the moral conscience upon which the play turns to punish villainy. The dichotomy of victim/whore in which the problem of the woman servant's sexuality is framed nonetheless set the rhetorical stage for Samuel Richardson. His 1740 "conduct book," *Pamela*, portrays a servant-heroine who, forerunner to the nursemaid of the *Servant's Magazine*, shares the moral and aesthetic culture of her employers. How is the woman servant who reasons, feels, and, most importantly, reads "in the posture of children" reconciled with the "problem" of her sexuality? Because *Pamela* and the textual outpouring of responses it provoked made this question one of the century's most important literary events involving servants, it is a primary motive for much of the study that follows. Chapter 3 focuses on Richardson's response to this contradiction in the woman servant's image; the rest of this chapter turns to the less discussed, but equally vital issue of male servants' sexuality and gender identity.

Male Servants

Male servants share with their female counterparts an almost mythological sexuality that both attracts and repulses. What distinguishes even the lewdest manservant from the maid, however, is the ability to act, for good or ill, on moral choice; while male domestics are subject to sexual objectification, they are largely imagined as active participants, not victims. The male servant's eroticism, though problematic, is not the sexual conundrum of the female servant, but is, rather, assumed, a referent that needs no explanation. When, as in Joseph Andrews' famous refusal of Lady Booby's attempt on his "virtue," the manservant is cast as sexual victim, the effect is obviously comic, a joke that Fielding depends on his readers getting in his creation of a manly, cudgel-wielding protagonist. Male servants, like their masters, benefit from the ubiquitous sexual double standard of this and other time periods. Unlike the woman servant, men can choose to be sexual in socially powerful, even admirable ways. The manservant's choices are not, however, unconstrained, and these constraints take historically specific forms in the literature on "the servant problem."

The sexual reputation of the manservant is dominated by two cultural stereo-

types: the young male apprentice, a traditional figure inherited from the previous century, and a new character, the gorgeously loutish manservant in livery. These figures define opposite extremes of imagining the male domestic: "in the posture of children," on the one hand, and, on the other, as attractive but sexually dangerous. Apprentices, often bound until their mid- to late twenties, have a long history of collecting concerns in print around their sexuality, even as they are placed "in the posture of children." In a seventeenth-century text addressed to apprentices, Caleb Trenchfield worries about "the season of Youth" in which "whoredom" is all too tempting. Rather amusingly, he ends a long discussion on the evils of illicit sex with the recommendation of horseback riding as a healthy exercise for overheated apprentices: "But of all Recreations, there's none more Healthful or more Delightful, then to ride abroad on a good Horse."[89] But it is not merely "whoredom" that worries the conduct writers. Samuel Richardson rules out "fornication," of course, but he and many other writers are just as concerned about matrimony. "Fornication and Matrimony are very wisely prohibited to the young Man in his Indenture," writes Richardson. While the reason for the former is moral and hygienic, the reasons for prohibiting matrimony are economic: the apprentice will never attain solvency, let alone success, if he is encumbered with a wife and child.[90] Kearsley, writing fifty years later than Richardson, reiterates the same warnings against "fornication and matrimony."

> Let the young man consider, that all the arts and blandishments of these syrens are only to lure him into a state of misery; that he who embraces a common woman, embraces shame, disease, rottenness and death.
>
> As to what may be termed lawful love, the apprentice ought also to banish entirely from his thoughts: For it will be time enough for him to think of marrying when he is able to provide for a family . . . These considerations should make him despise the allurements of his master's female servants. How many have been ruined during their apprenticeship, by marrying their master's maid.[91]

Kearsley doubts the wisdom of marriage even for apprentices who have worked out their indenture: "Indeed a journeyman in some of the genteel trades makes no contemptible figure in the world, and may live very happily: but not to mention his being in some degree subject to another, from his not being entirely the master of his own actions; it is certain, that while he is in this state he can never marry, without he can light upon a woman with a fortune sufficient to raise him above it. For a journeyman to any tradesman must unavoidably struggle under great difficulties by being obliged to support the expence [*sic*] of a wife and child."[92] Individual financial control (mastery "over his own actions") is enabled through

sexual abstinence even for the journeyman; it is no wonder that economy demands the renunciation of adult sexual experience by the apprentice.

Conduct literature for apprentices warns against marriage with a fellow servant in the household as vehemently as literature for women servants warns against seduction or rape. Trenchfield counsels, "be especially advised, not to have any familiarity with the Maid-servants of the Family where you are, more than what conduceth to the dispatching of general Affairs, and such an Affability as is Common and Due to All: For those kind of Cattle have commonly the Suttle-bee, and are as weary of a single life as Nuns of their Cloisters, and therefore catch at the very appearance of Match."[93] Ironically, the male apprentice shares with the maid who allegedly seeks to entrap him a sense of looming sexual threat that is material as well as moral. Economic ruin awaits the unwary apprentice as surely as prostitution awaits the maid. The apprentice who wishes to avoid the trap of sexuality joins the female domestic "in the posture of children" in terms of sexual vulnerability as well as with regard to reading, writing, and other approved leisure pursuits. Unlike the woman servant, however, who remains the victim of her own sexuality whatever her will, the apprentice can make a short-term deal in which he temporarily barters erotic expression for future economic choice and ease. Eventually, if he is as lucky as Hogarth's Francis Goodchild, who marries his master's daughter in the *Industry and Idleness* engravings, he stands to gain heterosexual mastery of his wife and family, a mastery that grounds his participation in the larger social orders of commerce and political institutions. How meaningful a Goodchild would be to many menservants is questionable, however. Increasingly, men who did domestic labor in the family became differentiated from artisan or merchant apprentices who both lived in the family and worked in the shop, and around this category of manservant clusters a masculinity that is far from childlike, and highly sexual.

The manservant in livery, the other ubiquitous figure in discussions of male servants' sexuality, emerges as the embodiment of this very different set of thoughts and feelings about the erotic identity of menservants. These thoughts and feelings are more ambivalent and inscribe a more complex role for the manservant than that of the traditional apprentice. Throughout the century, menservants in livery often represent a dangerous, outlaw sexuality that is intolerable to family respectability and to social order. Figures associated with riot and rape, they are all that male servants and apprentices must not become; they are the "bad examples" that support the standard of sexual abstinence. Unlike apprentices, menservants in livery flaunt a virile image that cuts against the grain of putting them "in the posture of children." Sexualized like the female domestic, but more likely to be seen as a

predator than a victim, the liveried servant in literature articulates an emergent identity for male domestics that troubles writers on "the servant problem." This identity is multifaceted, appearing differently in plays than it does in polemical literature. In many of the dramatic and prose fictional texts examined later in this study, the man in livery embodies an attractive individualism and sexual charisma. For writers like Swift, Defoe, and Haywood, he is a new evil of urban society, a symptom of the landed gentry's corruption by "luxury" and a new source of trouble within the family. The liveried domestics who work for the aristocracy and gentry of London's developing urban culture are frequently represented in conduct literature as morally contaminating to other, presumably better-behaved servants, from Seaton's "Scabbed Sheep" to Trimmer's livery servants who repeat—in degraded form—the same offences of luxury and vice as their aristocratic masters.[94] Eliza Haywood sees them as sexual threats to hapless maidservants: "As these Fellows live high, and have little to do, they are for the most Part very pert and saucy where they dare, and apt to take liberties on the least Encouragement."[95]

Living "high" and sexual "liberties" often come together in a recurrent form of paranoia among the polemicists on "the servant problem": the footman who sexually trespasses into the master's family by marrying or seducing his daughter. Swift satirically advises the enterprising livery servant that by exercising his attractions, he may "sometimes pick up a Fortune, perhaps your Master's Daughter."[96] Defoe, whose fantasies of servants' transgressions always run toward the sensationally violent, tells the warning tale of a gentleman who, suspecting his daughter of meeting a lover, discovers that his coachman is the object of her affection: "But judge of what Rage, what Horror must take hold of his Soul, when he saw the Coachman (after opening the Coach Door to his Daughter) take her out of the Coach in his Arms, and holding her in his Arms a good while, kiss her several times, and she (on the other-hand) throwing one of her Arms about his Neck, give him leave to do it, as long as he wou'd."[97] Defoe's outraged gentleman ends up killing the coachman in the act of eloping with his daughter, "but all this had its Beginning in the Insolence of the Servant."[98] The footman's dalliance with his lady or with the daughter of the house is a satirical cliché at least since Swift's *Directions to Servants*.[99] In her 1725 *A Spy on the Conjurer*, Haywood writes a letter from a young lady pleading for advice about her passion for her father's servant: "I have the Misfortune to have found greater Charmes in a Person very inferior to me, than ever I could discern in those whose Birth and Fortune were my Equals—In short, I have not had the Power to restrain my kind Thoughts of a Servant in our House; and the Fellow encourag'd by my more than ordinary

Indulgence, and some soft Glances, has prepar'd to make his Addresses.—Now, what I require of you, is, to consult your intelligent Faculty to inform me, whether, if I marry this Man, my Father will ever be prevail'd on to give me a Portion."[100] According to conduct literature, the conflated economic and sexual opportunism of male servants carried dangerous implications for the financial integrity of the family.

But that is not the whole story. Footmen and coachmen are sartorially glamorous advertisements for their masters' wealth and social brilliance.[101] Part of their job is looking good, an attractiveness that supports their reputation as sexual players while simultaneously upholding and extending their masters' upper-class, masculine status. The male retainer's randiness could be naturalized and even admired as an ideal of sexual potency shared by master and servant. Thomas A. King sees a discursive formation of hetero-normative desire emerging as the salient characteristic of manliness in the eighteenth century;[102] by desiring women, male servants shared with their masters a masculinity that depends on an essential embodiment of heterosexual desire as opposed to a "queer," homoerotic masculinity. According to King, early in the century, gendered and sexual identity begins to take on the job of distinguishing between men, cultural work that was formerly done exclusively by status and social position. I would argue that while social position retained much of its defining power over men and male relationships, by midcentury a shared desire for women begins to form an important connection—though not a parity—between master and manservant. Robert Dodsley, the footman-turned-publisher-and-author, provides a significant exception to conduct literature's hysterical warnings about sexually predatory footmen and coachmen. Dodsley's *The Footman's Friendly Advice* naturalizes the manservant's sexual desires, even as he subordinates them to the master's authority: "As to Whoring, one may as well persuade a Glutton from his Dainties, or a Miser from his Gold, as a Man who is young, healthy, and well kept, from loving a handsome Woman, especially when he can do it with Convenience; and so long as our Masters, the major part of them at least, give us all the Liberty we can desire, it cannot be expected we should do otherwise."[103] Outside of literature on "the servant problem," the oversexed liveried manservant enticingly and disturbingly signals new and potentially transformative roles for men in service, as shall be seen in chapter 5. Footmen are resistant to "the posture of children," instead embodying an adult masculine agency that is a significant part of the horizon of possibility for male domestic servants.

* * *

Sexuality, then, emerges as a primary vector for very mixed feelings—attraction and repulsion, love and fear—directed at the new roles imagined for servants in eighteenth-century literary representations. For at least the first half of the century, female domestics are at best passive sexual magnets, and at worst sexual entrepreneurs. As time goes on, more and more often they become innocent victims, faced with the overwhelming task of holding on to their chastity in a culture that privileges male sexual prerogative. Worthy of participation in the domestic leisure culture shared by her employers' children, but inevitably yoked to a tradition of sexual availability, the woman servant constitutes an everyday household enigma—Is she a whore or an innocent victim?—created by her place in a family that was beginning to see contradictions in its economic and affective relations. Male servants participate less enigmatically in a hetero-normative masculinity with their masters that may, nonetheless, pose a threat to the latter's control over "their" women. Cross-class connections between employer and retainer are both necessary and treacherous, reassuring and unpredictable, a terrain that literary depictions of servants navigate differently, depending on the text's rhetorical purposes and its placement in the many different social and historical contexts for writing about domestic service.

Sexuality emerges, however, as the primary language in this literature by which the emergent dichotomy between contractual and instrumental relations on the one hand, and affective and emotional relations on the other, is supported and negotiated within the early modern British family. What McKeon, following Foucault, calls "sex as such" articulates—and offers up for public comprehension and theory—the messy and complex materials of a domesticity that is not, strictly speaking, domestic, and of affairs that are both contractual and affective. The separation of sexuality from the field of labor—Freud's famous division of love and work—is, however, a process rather than a given. Literature on "the servant problem" struggles to make this separation, even as it tends to conflate sex with work in the figure of the female servant as whore. The following chapter takes up this semiotics of sexuality in the 1740s and 1750s as it plays out in Samuel Richardson's 1740 novel *Pamela*, arguably the most important eighteenth-century intervention in the discursive creation of femininity as the determining conundrum of modern sexuality, the riddle of female desire upon which modern gendered domesticity depends.

CHAPTER THREE

Interpreting the Woman Servant

Pamela and Elizabeth Canning, 1740 to 1760

Richardson's *Pamela* is key to so many discussions of eighteenth-century British literary and cultural history that to position it as a text about domestic service initially seems an embarrassing oversimplification of a culturally, politically, and rhetorically complex text. To focus on Pamela's status as a female domestic servant is also not new, as the novel's connections to contemporaneous discussions of servants have been thoroughly commented upon,[1] nor has Pamela's sexuality been ignored in this context. Scarlett Bowen, in particular, has pointed out how common assumptions about female domestics' sexuality inform Richardson's characterization of Pamela and her polar opposite, Mrs. Jewkes.[2] My contribution to the analyses of *Pamela*'s relation to eighteenth-century writing on domestic service is to read the titular character as a highly innovative and, hence, controversial intervention in representations of the woman servant's sexuality from that period, and to situate that intervention within the historical emergence of modern domestic femininity. Richardson places his morally conscientious heroine in the context of servant literature's prevalent characterization of women servants as either childlike, passive victims or, if they exercise their economic agency, as predatory whores, a set of meanings that, as Michael McKeon suggestively mentions, makes the female servant key to understanding the dynamics between private and public, or the individual and the social, for most of the century.[3]

Richardson navigates around the popular images of the female domestic that were encountered in chapter 2. Instead of the passively "good" servant who eschews economic agency and may or may not escape sexual victimization, or the entrepreneurial whore who controls and debases her masters, Richardson creates

a tale of female moral agency in which the servant woman carefully articulates her financial status within the hierarchies of class and gender, only to find herself sexualized in spite of her intentions. Richardson brings his heroine up against the question of how the female domestic's ability to make both financial and sexual choices can take material form without sliding into prostitution, a condition envisioned by Defoe and other writers on "the servant problem." *Pamela* negotiates a new imaginative space in which the woman servant's sexual magnetism guarantees social stability rather than threatening it. Richardson's novel did not do away with the stereotypes of victim or whore; it created a third alternative, a new way of representing the woman servant as both an object of desire and a loving intimate, a sexual magnet and a family member. In doing so, it also created a new erotic between master and maid, a mix of desire and respect between individuals —if not as peers, at least as equal sharers—in a moral culture that crosses class and gender lines. It also created a problem in interpretation that is the focus of this chapter's discussion of the "*Pamela* controversy" that ensued from the novel's publication. Pamela's participation in cross-cultural literacy is guaranteed by her morality, which is, in turn, subject to the contradictory meanings accruing to her status as a domestic servant. In *Pamela*, the character of the woman servant emerges as the key to a social order mobilized through domestic regulation.

Writing is ultimately the means by which Pamela exerts material control without falling into the dangerous sexual entrepreneurship of Defoe's "slippery" maids. Pamela's letters transform her moral consciousness into a form of material agency that avoids the dangerous terrain of economic or sexual control. Literacy gives the female servant a legitimized, if limited, means of influence over her readers that steps around, rather than solves, the problem of her sexuality. By writing, Pamela both participates in the production of a moral culture shared by domestics and their employers and, concurrently, creates new channels of desire between master and woman servant. However, as Judith Frank's astute reading of Fielding's responses to Richardson suggests, Pamela's powerful command over writing created a focus for both democratizing impulses and concurrent fears of class-leveling,[4] a tension that was to play out over the course of the century, as shall be seen in this chapter's discussion of the Elizabeth Canning trial as well as in later chapters' treatment of servants and education in the novel.

Before her words work their moral and erotic magic, Richardson runs his servant through a gauntlet of received cultural assumptions about female domestics' sexualized agency. Pamela emerges from her trials as neither victim nor whore. Rather, she embodies Richardson's solution to "the servant problem": morally conscientious servants whose autonomy allows them choices that confirm,

rather than challenge, a class- and gender-based domestic order. In sum, Pamela exemplifies the "idea of disinterested judgment" that, as McKeon shows, is both tied to land ownership and capable of floating across lines of wealth and status.[5] To accommodate this new model, Pamela's master must also change, of course, by learning to want more than the sexually magnetic lady's maid; he must learn to love the morally conscious individual that Pamela expresses through her writing. Richardson represents this lesson as, literally, reading. Mr. B— achieves the right kind of desire by reading Pamela's letters. What happens to Pamela's sexuality in this shift from B—'s naturalized lust for a more attractive version of Hannah Woolley's "dirty pudding" to an affective and erotic connection across class lines? Richardson's attempt to answer this question set off more controversy than resolution, making the woman servant's sexuality an interpretive problem, a riddle at the heart of a shared social and moral order between masters and servants.

MOBILITY AND PROPERTY

The novel opens the issue of Pamela's agency as a domestic servant through three categories of her experience, all of which resonate with contemporary polemics and conduct literature addressing "the servant problem": mobility, property, and sexuality. As chapter 1 demonstrates, the ease with which servants could allegedly leave their places was one of the sore points in this discourse. The maid's ability to give notice—or her lack thereof—is a theme that Richardson approaches through the eyes of the very young female domestic herself. Similarly, "perquisites," or clothing and monetary tips—the primary property of servants and the object of much of their chicanery and class transgression in the servant literature—become a means by which Pamela attempts to shape an economic identity that is legitimately hers. Finally and most obviously, Richardson wraps his narrative concerning moral choices and power around the sexuality that is pervasively invested in the female domestic. While she embodies the sexual magnet of conduct literature, Pamela is neither a helpless victim nor a sexual predator out to make whatever monetary hay she can. Richardson instead takes on the tricky problem of how to grant the servant woman moral autonomy in the field of sexuality without giving her material control over her body or her own desires.

Pamela's first letters, after her mistress's death, weave together the problematic themes of mobility, property, and sexuality. Unlike Defoe's "slippery" maids, who move thoughtlessly from service to prostitution and back again, Pamela worries that even her simple, physical mobility, the ability to shift from one location to another, is constrained by its vexed relation to property and to her own sexuality.

Can Pamela leave her place? What claims does she have to the property she has accumulated as a servant, and how can she transport it? And how does her sexuality as a desirable young woman affect that mobility and her claims to property? Pamela sees these questions as integrally related when she debates how to transport herself and the small amount of property, mostly clothing, that she has accumulated as a servant in B—'s house: "Sometimes I thought I would leave the House, and go to the next Town, and wait for an Opportunity to get to you; but then I was at a Loss to resolve whether to take away the Things he had given me or no, and how to take them away: Sometimes I thought to leave them [her belongings] behind me, and only go with the Cloaths on my Back; but then I had two Miles and a half, and a By-way, to go to the Town; and being pretty well dress'd, I might come to some harm, almost as bad as what I would run away from; and then may-be, thought I, it will be reported, I have stolen something, and so was forc'd to run away; and to carry a bad Name back with me to my dear poor Parents, would be a sad thing indeed!"[6] Claiming mobility as a servant means risking some form of criminalization, since exerting an economic agency exposes her to sexual advances or to criminal charges: she is either vulnerable to "some harm, almost as bad as what I would run away from," that is, rape, or she is liable to be seen as a thief. Richardson's novel can thus be read as bounded by cultural assumptions about the kinds of choices available to female domestic servants—Pamela on the road home is either a victim or a criminal—but it is also possible to see it as an important intervention in public-sphere discussions over that agency. He is asking his readers to put themselves in the shoes of a young woman who is not, by nature, "slippery in the tail," not a sexual outlaw or object, but rather someone whose desire to leave her place is not only morally understandable but also constrained by difficult travel, ambiguous claims to property, and her own sexual vulnerability.

Mobility, simply getting home, is by itself a concern for Pamela and her father. Mr. Andrews wants "to know how you come. I fansy honest *John* will be glad to bear you Company Part of the Way, if your Master is not so cross as to forbid him. And if I know time enough, your Mother will go one five Miles, and I will go ten on the Way, or till I meet you, as far as one Holiday will go: For that I can get Leave for."[7] Pamela herself worries that "heavy Rains will make it sad travelling on Foot: But may-be I may get a Place to —, which is ten Miles of the Way, in Farmer Nichols's close Cart; for I can't sit a Horse well at all."[8] This banal fussiness accrues significance in the context of conduct literature's concerns over the alleged ease of "changing one's place." Pamela is not, of course, in the urban environment this literature imagines is the scene for servants' new ability to shift employment, but this worry over logistics contrasts pointedly with the easy move-

ment of Defoe's "amphibious" maids. Richardson suggests that most sexually beset women servants are not as easily capable of changing positions as their urban stereotype created by "the servant problem" literature. The problem of physical mobility escalates into high drama when Pamela is kidnapped and brought to the Lincolnshire estate where Jewkes locks her up, takes her shoes, and subjects her to constant surveillance. This drama climaxes with Pamela's abortive escape, which nearly ends in suicide.

Pamela's account of this event takes on gothic and sadistic dimensions: head and hips are squeezed through iron bars, and crumbling walls rain bricks that draw blood from her head. She is literally immobilized by her injuries, and must be carried back into her prison. Her bruised and stiffened body is Richardson's brutal answer to anxieties over the alleged ease of movement for female servants. He also opens an alternative to physical mobility that is scarcely original but is artistically realized in a powerful, new way: the servant's claim to spiritual autonomy. Pamela shifts the register from the social and material to the personal and spiritual: "your poor *Pamela* has escap'd from an Enemy worse than any she ever met with; an Enemy she never thought of before; and was hardly able to stand against. I mean, the Weakness and Presumptions, both in one, of her own Mind!"[9] This episode spells out a general lesson in Christian stoicism and the dangers of despair, of course, but it also sets the terms for an agency that Pamela can legitimately exert; hers is a spiritual and moral escape in the context of severely limited material mobility. As such, Richardson's woman servant contributes to what McKeon has called "the valorization of the individual, common life as the key to what is universal because common to us all," a "socio-political practice that has come to dominate much of Western culture even though it is responsive neither to the common nor the universal."[10] In other words, Pamela's extraordinary experience produces an individual, spiritual transcendence that may be shared by readers of all kinds and classes.

The contrast between impossible physical escape and otherworldly mobility is heightened by Pamela's fellow servants. Jewkes, finding her gone and "every Door fast," thinks she "must be carry'd away, as St. *Peter* was out of Prison, by some Angel,"[11] and the other servants attribute Pamela's having gotten as far as she did to "Sorcery and Witchcraft."[12] Physical mobility, for the female domestic, is dangerous, even impossible, and the others' superstitious commentary serves to underscore this material fact. B—'s characterizations of Pamela as a "subtle, Artful Gypsey," a "little Hypocrite" with "all the Arts of her Sex," similarly fall flat against the raw data of her material helplessness. Richardson clears a rhetorical space for Pamela's moral agency by sweeping out the notion that the female domestic has

mysterious powers of mobility and sexuality. Defoe's prostitute-servants move effortlessly from service to "bawdyhouse," placing their corrupted masters under their complete sexual thrall.[13] Richardson gives us the counter-spectacle of a woman servant making moral choices within very narrow material constraints—not in some mystified, exotic way, but in the only way open to her, the written expression of her individual, spiritual autonomy.

Pamela also reveals the awkwardness with which this freedom is mapped onto the female domestic's limited mobility. The physical clumsiness and left-handed titillation of the novel's seduction scenes have been a source of ridicule since Fielding's *Shamela*. During one of B—'s infamous "mammary explorations," Pamela "got loose from him, by a sudden Spring," only to fall into a "Fit with my Fright and Terror" in the next room, allowing B— a long look through the keyhole at her "lying all along upon the Floor, stretch'd out at my Length."[14] The sheer clumsiness of Pamela's flight, like her bruised and bleeding body after her Lincolnshire "escape," underscores her tenuous or nonexistent material agency. The sexual spectacle she unwittingly becomes while unconscious embodies the contradiction between the female domestic's claim to moral and spiritual autonomy and the erotic appeal of her physical body. The anti-*Pamela* literature, notably *Pamela Censured* and *Pamela's Letters*, an appendix to Charles Povey's *The Virgin in Eden*, focus on this scene as evidence of the novel's moral hypocrisy, and, indeed, Pamela's nubile body makes it difficult to realize a fictional maidservant without evoking sexual clichés. Tellingly, *Pamela's Letters* also assumes that a female domestic has the ability to leave at will: "Pamela, had she been as chaste as represented, would have run to her Father's Cottage, as to an Ark of Security."[15] Yet Richardson's novel, following the lead of conduct literature, implicitly argues that mobility is at odds with the moral character of a good servant. He carefully and convincingly breaks down the painful logistics of leaving service so airily assumed in *Pamela's Letters*, but Pamela's susceptibility to interpretation as a sexual magnet is the weak spot in Richardson's fictional realization of the woman servant as physically immobilized by the propriety of the good servant. It is one thing to rain down bricks on your heroine's head; it is another to leave her supine and panting on the floor.

Property, the second term through which Pamela's agency is expressed, is as problematic as her physical mobility, but it allows more rhetorical space for articulating her moral consciousness, if not her material choices. The novel models a conduct-book approach to the vexed question of property: What goods and money are legitimately the servant's? How is she to avoid misappropriation of the master's bounty, or at least the appearance of misappropriation? In the moral

vacuum left by the death of her lady, Pamela must make careful judgments about accepting monetary or other gifts from B—: "As he expected other Returns for his Presents, than I intended, I bless God, to make him; so I thought it was but just to leave his Presents behind me when I went away: for, you know, if I would not earn his Wages, why should I have them?"[16] Four guineas, on the other hand, are rightfully hers as a "Perquisite, being what my Lady had about her when she dy'd."[17] These four guineas become the object of ongoing moral questioning. Jervis must reassure Pamela that she "well earn'd them by that Waistcoat only." Pamela, more scrupulous, qualifies, "No, I think not *so*, in that only; but in the Linen, and other Things, do you think I have?" Jervis confirms Pamela—her "dear Odd-ones"—in her right to payment. In the rhetorical context of the inconsistency and lack of regulation of servants' wages, Pamela's scruples over her claims to money must have sounded a note that was both reassuring and potentially troubling. Pamela polices her claims meticulously, but her constant questioning—Are the guineas hers to use or not?—suggests instability in the realm of master-servant economic relations. The line between what is the master's and what is the servant's is disturbingly vague, a point of uneasiness in domestic affairs between retainers and employers that is articulated through the eroticization of the female domestic's clothing.

Clothing is the primary object of Pamela's concern over her rights. It is a particularly problematic form of property because, unlike the guineas, which can pass from master to servant without changing their essential value, clothing is class-coded in ways that address the woman servant's capability for sexual as well as social transgression. Richardson's heroine speaks in the context of a frequently expressed anxiety over female domestics wearing their mistresses' clothing. Much of the property that Pamela can claim, as a maidservant, is her mistress's castoff clothing, legitimate goods within her rights as a servant, but dangerous.

> I thought to myself some Days ago, Here I shall go home to my poor Father and Mother, and have nothing on my Back, that will be fit for my Condition; for how should your poor Daughter look with a Silk Night-gown, Silken Petticoats, Cambrick Head-cloaths, fine Holland Linen, lac'd Shoes, that were my Lady's, and fine Stockens! And how in a little while must they have look'd, like old Cast-offs indeed, and I look'd so for wearing them! And People would have said, (for poor Folks are envious, as well as rich) See there Goody Andrews's Daughter, turn'd home from her fine Place! What a tawdry Figure she makes! And how well that Garb becomes her poor Parents Circumstances!—And how would they look upon me, thought I to myself, when they come to be in Tatters, and

> worn out? And how should I look, even if I could get homespun Cloths, to dwindle into them one by one, as I could get them?—May-be, an old Silk Gown, and a new Linsey-wooley Petticoat, and so on. So, thinks I, I had better get myself at once 'quipt in the Dress that would become my Condition.[18]

Pamela is acutely aware of the class politics of wearing her mistress's castoff clothing; outside her mistress's domain, they signal improprieties of both status and sexuality. Hence Pamela struggles to think of the wealth she can legitimately claim as a servant—her mistress's discards—purely as goods that could contribute to her family's subsistence. She wants to think of her mistress's clothing as she thinks of the guineas, as a "perquisite"—not as personal adornment, but as items that can be exchanged for a more useable kind of wealth. However, this conception of property as neutral, transferable objects in payment for her labor is always tainted by Pamela's consciousness of these items, not as convertible wealth, but as signifiers of her social and sexual status. For example, B—'s present of his mother's stockings cannot be made without implying her sexual objectification. Later in the novel, Pamela rejects B—'s offer to make her his mistress in terms that convert goods into markers of sexualized economic mobility, a sort of upper-class version of Defoe's slippery maid: "And all this, for what I pray? Why truly, for a Pair of Diamond Ear-rings, a Necklace, and a Diamond Ring for my Finger; which would not become me: for a few paltry fine Cloaths; which when I wore, it would make but my former Poverty more ridiculous to every body that saw me; especially when they knew the base Terms I wore them upon."[19] Pamela knows that she cannot possess these goods without becoming chattel herself; the woman servant's claims to property are unavoidably tied to her sexuality.

Nonetheless, Richardson allows his heroine to imagine clothing as a form of property to which she should be able to make claims that are consistent with her status; hence Pamela's carefully selected three bundles: "I am resolv'd to take with me only what I can properly call my own."[20] These carefully justified claims give Pamela a sense of moral as well as economic security, as does the suit of clothes that Pamela creates for herself to wear out of service, the simple garb of a female rural worker's Sunday best. Richardson dramatizes, however, the quickness with which the female domestic's claims to property are sexualized. As many readers have pointed out, Pamela's attempt to assert moral authority and independence through her own class-based identity by wearing clothes that mark her status not as a servant, but as the daughter of a day-laborer, fall flat in the face of aristocratic male sexual prerogative. Pamela's "round-eared cap" and straw hat mark her as "goods" just as surely as B—'s offered diamonds. The female domestic's sexuality

undercuts even her legitimate claims to property, making her a "thief" even in her honesty.

> Good your Honour, what have I done, that I must be used worse than if I had robb'd you!—Robb'd me! Said he, why so you have, Hussy; you have robb'd me. Who! I! Sir, said I, have I robb'd you? Why then you are a Justice of Peace, and may send me to Gaol, if you please, and bring me to a Tryal for my Life! If you can prove that I have robb'd you, I am sure I ought to die!
>
> Now I was quite ignorant of his Meaning; tho' I did not like it when it was afterwards explain'd, neither.[21]

If mobility and property comprise the material terms of a woman servant's economic agency, sexuality finally constrains these terms and shapes the choices and power they define. On the conceptual terrain of that sexuality, Richardson's characters can understand Pamela only as passive goods or as possessing a mystified agency at odds with her material lack of power.

WHO IS PAMELA?

The novel, then, dramatizes the female servant's difficulty in establishing legitimate economic claims. Such claims are automatically eroticized; Pamela is, rather than owns, the goods. Contractual relations are similarly impossible without Pamela's sexuality defining her as property. Hence she rejects Mr. B—'s "Articles," which grant her considerable wealth but also make her his sexual possession. Pamela's record of moral consciousness contradicts the sexualized characterization of women servants, implicitly asking the question of who Pamela can be, and what agency she can exert, if that of a Lockean owner of property, able to make and break contracts, is denied her. The answer to this question is, ultimately, the subordinated capabilities of the obedient wife. Pamela rejects a purely economic contract with B—, but accepts (although not without commentary) his "rules" as a husband. Before this resolution is possible, however, the sixteen-year-old Pamela demonstrates the inevitability with which sexuality defines the woman servant's identity. She can never really be "in the posture of children" even when nearly a child, a role in which Pamela repeatedly wants to cast herself.

Unlike the urban servant so quick to "give warning," Pamela never expresses a desire to find another place. Lady Davers and B— discuss the possibility of her entering the former's service, but Pamela persistently longs to re-assume the role of a child in her parents' home: "I know how to be happy with you as ever: For I

will lie in the Loft, as I used to do; and pray let the little Bed be got ready . . . no doubt I shall sleep purely to Night, and dream that I am with you, in my dear, dear, happy Loft once more."[22] The "adult" need to support herself is less vital to Pamela than the child's need for parental love: "a Father and Mother's Comfort is the dearest thing to a good Child that can be."[23] Pamela imagines childhood as a haven from the dangers of service. Mrs. Jervis also repeatedly refers to Pamela as a child and wishes that "she would take a little private House, and I should live with her like her Daughter."[24] But Richardson probes more deeply than either Pamela or Jervis—or conduct literature in general—into what it means for a young female domestic to be seen as a child and in need of protection. As chapter 2 demonstrates, in "servant problem" literature, a good retainer shares the master's moral consciousness and even his aesthetic sensibility, but only as a permanent subordinate within the domestic hierarchy. Gender and sexuality are pushed into the background when servants are imagined "in the posture of children." Pamela is eager to take up her role as the idealized, teachable child who shares her master's culture within a sort of domestic protectorate, but Richardson explicitly reveals sexuality as the obstacle to this "solution." While "the servant problem" literature usually buries the question of the female domestic's erotic identity in its model of family pedagogy, *Pamela* directly points out the contradiction of the woman servant's place within that pedagogy. A domestic servant may want to see herself as a child of the family, but this role does not absolve her of her problematic sexuality.

For example, Pamela thinks of the older male servants as father figures. Mr. B—, however, sexualizes their feelings toward Pamela, transforming her childish obedience into erotic attraction: "She is young, and every thing is pretty that is young . . . she is humble, and courteous, and faithful, and makes all her Fellow-servants love her; . . . as for Mr. Longman, and Jonathan, here, if they thought themselves young enough, I am told, they would fight for her."[25] Lady Davers's aristocratic female friends likewise place a sexual spin on Pamela's filial position in B—'s family.

> Lady Arthur said, . . . I think your good lady departed made a sweet Choice of such a pretty Attendant. She would have been mighty proud of you, as she always was praising you, had she liv'd till now.
>
> Ah! Madam, said Lady Brooks, do you think that so dutiful a Son as our Neighbour, who always admir'd what his Mother Lov'd, does not pride himself, for all what he said at Table, in such a pretty Maiden?
>
> She look'd with such a malicious sneering Countenance, I cannot abide her.[26]

B— himself, of course, eroticizes Pamela's childlike position in the family, even to the point of presenting his attempts at seduction as the play of children growing up in the same household: "a little innocent Romping with her, so usual with young Folks of the two Sexes, when they have been long acquainted, and grown up together; for Pride is not my Talent."[27] As Jennifer Milam has argued, children in the early eighteenth century were not so conceptually removed from the realm of adult sexuality as they would come to be late in the century,[28] and Mr. B—'s "Romping" reflects this older model of childhood as susceptible to erotic interest. While Pamela invokes a child's claims to protection, she cannot escape her sexual identity as a young woman servant. As Scarlett Bowen points out, for all her modesty, Pamela displays a sexual knowledge that the literature of the period associates with women of her social status.[29] Childlike passivity is not a creditable option, but if not a child, and not a whore, then who is Pamela? The novel answers this question through a model of literacy as agency, a third alternative that gains credibility through its effects on aristocratic male consciousness—Mr. B—'s conversion by reading. The Pamela who is both an object of desire and a moral individual is, literally, a text.

B— begins his conversion subscribing to the unpromising attitudes toward female domestics held by so many of the polemics on "the servant problem": she is either a victim or a manipulative whore. B— accordingly attributes total passivity or a magical sense of power to Pamela: "Pretty Fool! Said he, how will you forfeit your Innocence, if you are oblig'd to yield to Force you cannot withstand?"[30] Alternatively, B— characterizes Pamela either as a "subtle, Artful Gypsey,"[31] an identity mysteriously different from his educated English masculinity, or as the traditional, misogynistically imagined, duplicitous female: "O the little Hypocrite, said he! She has all the Arts of her Sex; they are born with her."[32] Richardson portrays the woman servant's terrified consciousness on these occasions as a powerful counter-argument to common characterizations of her as either a passive sexual magnet—"hungry dogs will eat dirty puddings"[33]—or, as Defoe imagines, a manipulative prostitute, able to control her master through the latter's sexual weakness.[34] In the early pages of the novel, these moments of contradiction between different paradigms of moral identity in the field of sexuality are not only significant as fictional arguments against common class- and gender-based constructions of female domestics in literature, but also serve to develop a model for agency that is specifically based on a shared literacy between master and servant, man and woman. This construct coexists rather awkwardly with the material conditions of their physical relation and, indeed, must ultimately reshape it into a form of social connection—Pamela's marriage—that

proved, in the novel's reception, to be both reassuring and threatening to traditional social hierarchies.

The idea that Pamela is an appropriate wife for the aristocratic B— is developed around a lettered model of moral consciousness that they both, ultimately, come to accept. B— eventually allows Pamela to write, quite literally, their story, to produce the authoritative version of their relationship. The shared literacy between master and servant, man and woman, serves as the grounds for negotiating their romantic connection. Initially, B— assumes that he controls that shared terrain.

> He by Force kissed my Neck and Lips; and said, Who ever blamed *Lucretia*, but the *Ravisher* only? And I am content to take all the Blame upon me; as I have already borne too great a Share for what I have deserv'd. May I, said I, *Lucretia* like, justify myself with my Death, if I am used barbarously? O my good Girl! Said he, tauntingly, you are well read, I see; and we shall make out between us, before we have done, a pretty Story in Romance, I warrant ye![35]

But it is Pamela's epistles that bring him into another story, the story of trans-class feminine chastity, leading to conjugal domesticity. Pamela's letters are an alternative route to material agency, unlike the economic means of mobility and property. Indeed, their power is predicated on Pamela's financial and material helplessness. She writes because she has no other choice.[36]

Pamela's letters, then, are not mere byproducts or reflections of her moral consciousness. Given widely held concerns about the socially and sexually transgressive potential of the choices and power of female domestics, they are the only form her moral agency can take. In other words, writing is a way of exerting that power without also claiming the financial control that would, effectively, land her in the guilty position of Defoe's "amphibious" woman servant. Pamela's letters grant her the capacity for moral consciousness and autonomy even as they work within cultural assumptions about a servant's limited rights to sell her own labor on an open market. In sum, they attempt to resolve the growing tension between affective and instrumental relations within the family. The "problem" that Richardson cannot completely solve emerges in the novel's peep-show glimpses at Pamela's desirable young body: the female domestic as walking sexual target.

PAMELA'S SEXUALITY

Richardson "solves" the problem of servants' newly perceived economic mobility by installing in Pamela's character an ethical sensibility that renders her individ-

ual choice unproblematic. Sexuality plays a critical role in this "solution." Mr. B—'s desire must blend with the conjugal intimacy that, as Ruth Perry argues, is increasingly the affective glue of the family,[37] and Pamela's physical desirability must be braided into her value as a model of literate moral consciousness. Most urgently, Pamela's acceptance of Mr. B— must be purged of any suspicious financial motives. The anti-*Pamela* literature that exploded into print after the novel's publication takes strong exception to this fictional disconnection of erotic and economic agency, telling us that the woman servant's sexuality is the primary sticking point in accepting or denying Richardson's social model of a shared ethos between master and maidservant. *Pamela Censured*, which appeared in 1741, is one of the first texts to read *Pamela* as legitimizing the female domestic's use of her sexual appeal for economic ends: "That every Maid Servant from what low stock soever she sprung, if she is pretty and modest, &c. has an undoubted Right to attempt to entice her Master to Marriage."[38] Bowen sees anti-*Pamela* literature as discrediting Richardson by drawing on common attitudes toward working-class women's sexuality.[39] I would specify that Bowen's astute interpretation of these texts should extend from women wage earners in general to servants in particular. Female domestics may share class-defined sexual stereotyping with other laborers of their gender, but a woman servant's sexual image is highly specific to the perceived dangers of her position as both an economic individual and a member of the family.

Fielding's contribution to the anti-*Pamela* literature is, like *Pamela*, a complex and multileveled text, but *Shamela* also draws on the linkage between a female domestic's sexual allure and her economic advantage, only in this case rejecting Richardson's model of moral agency as one that floats free from financial status or motive and is shared by master and servant alike. As Parson Oliver writes to the enthralled Tickletext, "The Instruction which it conveys to Servant-Maids, is, I think, very plainly this, To look out for their Masters as sharp as they can."[40] This "Instruction," as Oliver notes, marks conflicting interests, not a shared consciousness, between servant and master: "If the Master is not a Fool, they will be debauched by him; and if he is a Fool, they will marry him. Neither of which, I apprehend, my good Friend, we desire should be the Case of our Sons."[41] While Pamela's letters express moral agency in defiance of economic and material constraints, Shamela's writing is firmly attached to financial, not ethical motives. Like Swift's earlier *Directions to Servants*, Shamela and her mother parody instructional literature, turning its lessons on chastity into a tutorial on profit. When Shamela reads a virtuous cautionary into Henrietta Maria's concern over Booby's sexual attraction to her, the mother corrects her daughter: "Why will you give way

to your Passion? How could you imagine I should be such a Simpleton, as to upbraid thee with being thy Mother's own Daughter! When I advised you not to be guilty of Folly, I meant no more than that you should take care to be well paid before-hand, and not to trust to Promises, which a Man seldom keeps, after he hath had his wicked Will. And seeing you have a rich Fool to deal with, your not making a good Market will be the more inexcusable."[42] Proper conduct, for Fielding's economically motivated maid, is profiting as much as possible from her master's lust. By parodying Richardson's device of instruction "through familiar letters," Fielding qualifies the former's claims for the servant's moral literacy[43] by situating it firmly in the realm of economic interest. The female domestic's pen is no more an ethically pure instrument than that of Colley Cibber, another object of Fielding's satire, or even that of Richardson himself.

Fielding does not stop here in discrediting Richardson's moral ideal. A profit motive is not the only reason to distrust the woman servant; she is, inherently, sexually suspect. If Pamela has a virtue that is independent of economic constraints, Shamela has desires that do not mesh seamlessly with her financial motives. Whereas Defoe's female servant prostitutes herself for reasons that seem entirely pecuniary, Shamela likes sex for its own sake, at least with her dear Parson Williams, and her sensual urgings do not always agree with her best financial interests. In a final message, Tickletext reports that "Mr. *Booby* hath caught his Wife in bed with Williams; hath turned her off, and is prosecuting him in the Spiritual Court."[44] In Fielding's satire, sexuality is more than a simple means to economic ends; it becomes a motive embedded in the woman servant's character, marking her moral difference from her "betters."

Shamela's lust coarsely echoes Pamela's muted and delicately expressed attraction to Mr. B—. It also raises, in a way pointedly different from Richardson's novel, the idea of a woman's sexual desire as a force independent from economic motives. Pamela's modestly phrased longing for B— is thoroughly subordinated to moral scruples. Indeed, it can only be overtly stated when sanctioned by conscience. Its very detachment from financial incentives helps to legitimize the female domestic's desire. Shamela's lust for Parson Williams is equally economically disinterested, but instead of contributing to a model of mutual consciousness between master and servant, it indicates the female domestic's inherent difference from her employer-family. Unlike Pamela, Shamela is marked by a sexuality that refuses to be subordinated to the ethical sensibilities shared, at least theoretically, by her betters. Like sex for profit, sex purely for physical pleasure separates a female domestic from the moral culture of her employers, signaling her difference from rather than cementing her connection to that culture.

Eliza Haywood's *Anti-Pamela*, also written in 1741, picks up from Shamela to expand upon the theme of the class-based sexuality of servant women. Over the course of her experience with domestic employment, Syrena Tricksey develops desires that work against her economic goals. "And here, methinks," Haywood's usually reticent narrator intrudes, "it is worth remarking, how the indulging one Vice, destroy'd all the Success she might have expected from the other; for had she been less leud, her Hypocrisy, in all Probability, had obtain'd its end, at least, in this last Pursuit it had done so: But it is generally the Fate of such Wretches, who, while they go about ensnaring and deceiving all they can, to be themselves ensnar'd and deceived, either by others, or their own headstrong and ungovern'd Appetites."[45] Syrena learns to indulge this "Vice" through her experience as a servant. Apprenticed to a mantua-maker, she is treated indulgently as a child of the family, but soon loses her sexual innocence to a soldier who impregnates and abandons her. Haywood pointedly has her heroine reject, out of economic greed, the protective "posture of children." Her initial reasons for spurning the safety of the servant-child are financial—she hopes to con her lover out of his money—but wine combines with her natural sexual impulses to entrap her, even as she intended to snare her victim. Desire, Haywood suggests, is an inevitable byproduct of the woman servant's entrepreneurship. While sexuality starts as a means to financial ends, it becomes, at some point, a motive in itself. Haywood seems determined to decouple the female domestic's economic interests from her sexual wants; indeed, to place them at odds with each other. Syrena loses financial opportunity after opportunity through her developing inability to control her desire, inevitably landing herself and her conniving mother in destitution and misery.

Similarly, Haywood rewrites the woman servant's literacy, Pamela's means to expression and appreciation as a moral individual, as the key to her exposure and downfall. Syrena nearly succeeds in entrapping her master with a false rape charge: "Thus Mr. L—, who in the Morning thought himself happy in the Possession of a beautiful innocent Creature, that loved him with the extremest Tenderness, found himself before the Sun went down, the wretched Property of a presuming, mercenary, betraying, perjur'd and abandon'd Prostitute."[46] Syrena is detected in this plot only by means of the letters exchanged between her and her mother, who "accused themselves from having trusted the Secret of their Design to Pen and Paper: Dreadful Proof that their Hearts were totally void of all Distinction between Vice and Virtue!"[47] Writing, for Haywood, is more complicated than the means to shared moral literacy offered by Richardson. Likewise, Haywood's response to *Pamela*'s disinterested sexuality is more complex than Fielding's straightforward portrait of the female domestic as, literally, daughter to a

whore, moving without compunction between domestic service and bawdyhouse. Syrena's unruly desires, ironically like Pamela's moral refinement, are the result of learned experience, not qualities hard-wired to her social position. But in both Shamela and Syrena, sexuality marks the woman servant's difference from those whose moral standards Pamela is supposed to share. Letters, in the hands of the sexually motivated female domestic, are a weapon to turn against her master. Yet they are also, in Haywood's and Fielding's views, a double-edged sword that may swing back on the woman servant who attempts to use it. They are not the means, as in Richardson's novel, to an erotic intimacy that transcends class boundaries. Ambivalence over the literacy of the female domestic, suppressed in *Pamela*, emerges in her two parodic sisters. In both cases, the threat of social mobility, embedded in that literacy, is first articulated and then defused through the sexuality of the women who pose that threat.

PAMELA ON STAGE

Not surprisingly, for many of the anti-*Pamela* writers, a female domestic's sexuality emerges as the sticking point in Richardson's fiction of moral and erotic connection between master and maid. The stage produced a different, less direct critique of *Pamela*, one that, at least in some versions, allows for the possibility of conjugal love and shared sensibility across class divisions, while still emphasizing a distinct sexual as well as a class difference between masters and servants. Several dramatized versions of *Pamela*, appearing in 1741 and 1742, portray Pamela's and Mr. B—'s love story against the comic relief of her fellow servants' stereotypical sexual antics. *Pamela: or, Virtue Triumphant; A Comedy* (1741) is, perhaps, closest to the spirit of Richardson's novel, straightforwardly presenting the marriage between Pamela and "Beaulove" as an exceptional match between servant and master, grounded in shared values as much as in erotic attraction. The play, more than the novel, however, dramatizes the class-based sexual difference between servant characters and their "betters." The "good" servants, Jervis and Longman, flirt with each other and allude to marrying at the "right" time. After a long and devoted career as retainers, they will "grow up" and leave service.[48] Even while the play articulates the "new" erotic and moral connection imagined by Richardson, it stages it within a social context that "solves" the problem of servants' sexuality by deferring it, following the traditional "solution" of life-cycle service. Only Pamela herself transcends these conventions. In plays that take a less sentimental and more comic turn, the "low" domestics exhibit a bawdy sexuality that marks them as their masters' inferiors. The manservant chases the sexually available maid,

pimps for his master, and is not above taking credit or blame for one of his "by-blows." For example, *Pamela, A Comedy* (1742), depicts Pamela's fellow servants in terms of a naturalized, crude sexuality that serves as a foil for Pamela's sentimentalized status as potential wife to the aristocratic hero.[49] *Pamela: or, Virtue Rewarded; An Opera* (1742)[50] simply translates the 1742 play's comic sexual banter between male and female servants into the form of musical theater made popular by *The Beggar's Opera*. A later musical adaptation, Carlo Goldoni's 1756 opera, participates in "the servant problem" discussions of the period by engaging in the common critique of corrupt relations between decadent aristocratic masters and their sexually loose servants. John Arnold, the servant who betrays Pamela by giving her letters to B—, is converted into a young gentleman just returned from his European tour. This role contains elements of Jackie, Lady Davers's nephew, thus linking Richardson's stereotype of the foolish young rake with his characterization of a servant who is morally corrupted by pandering for his master. Goldoni's upper-class lout fuses the bawdy sexuality of the domestic with aristocratic degeneracy, a fusion implicit in literature on "the servant problem"; the sexual promiscuity of the servant and the corrupted luxury of the gentry go hand in hand throughout polemics on domestic service.[51] Giving this well-born rake the name of one of Pamela's fellow servants—particularly that of one whose morals are corrupted by his master—re-articulates a common critique of relations between masters and servants.

Goldoni's John Arnold assumes an upper-class, male prerogative over the "services" of the maid: "I have been abroad, and wherever I went I met with agreeable chambermaids, sprightly lasses capable of entertaining a brilliant company in the anti-chamber, till the mistress of the house was ready to receive them. With the chambermaids you may toy and laugh or you may sing a song; and tho' some of them may have the art of captivating their masters, yet they are not so squeamish with strangers as this girl."[52] His "European" habit of "toying" with chambermaids suggests corrupt relations between masters and servants very different from the natural, "English" flirting between "Kitty" and "the Butler" that makes up the opera's comic relief. *Pamela* plays and operas often create this divide between aristocratic decadence, invested in the Continental sexual corruption of the servant ranks, and "natural" English sexuality as it plays out across the register of class difference.

Many of the plays and operas draw on one of the novel's more paranoid moments for its heroine, when it appears that B— might force Pamela to marry Colbrand, his Swiss servant, and then claim his right, as master, to first night with the bride. This "European" threat is quickly converted into the comic sexuality of

servants. In the 1741 version, Colbrand and Jewkes plan to marry and open an inn together, while Goldoni's version has Colbrand tricking Jewkes out of her money and returning to his wife in France. However this plot twist plays out, it rejects a European model of servants as sexual property for one that is characteristically, even patriotically, English: "He [the playwright] knew his Judges, and he wish'd to find / A Theme might justly please a British Mind."[53] Beginning in the second quarter of the century, the personal freedom of English servants is a widely printed point of pride, as will be evident in the discussion of the Elizabeth Canning case, and the time was ripe for theatrical displays of national patriotism. Kathleen Wilson's account of the popular frenzy over Admiral Vernon's 1740 victory at Porto Bello suggests the formation of a "nascent imperialist sensibility" that defined British identity "through birthrights, liberties, and constitutional traditions" as well as by expansion abroad. It is in the early 1740s, Wilson reminds us, that " 'God Save the King' was first sung in Britain, and that the same year brought the first publication of Arne's rendering of 'Rule Britannia.' "[54] The *Pamela* plays fuse patriotism with support for the servants' status as more than their masters' property. Aside from the character of Pamela, however, domestics in these plays tend to be comically "low" in a wholesome, English way, articulating what McKeon describes as the servant's role as "lowest common denominator" for a newly nationalist sensibility.[55] The plays are, in general, far more squeamish than Richardson's novel about representing domestics on the same moral plane as their masters, and the distinctions between masters and servants are most often dramatized as a difference in sexual behavior.

One striking feature of the 1742 play and opera, and the later Goldoni opera, is their refusal to depict a servant, however virtuous and beautiful, as an agent in her master's moral conversion. In the play and the operas modeled on it, it is the Reverend Williams's example, not Pamela's, that persuades her master away from seduction and into marriage. While Richardson imagines Pamela as a moral light to both Mr. B— and his chaplain, these dramatic texts attribute moral direction to the clergyman, not the maid. It is not Pamela who confronts Belvile with claims to moral autonomy, but Williams, whose words could have been taken from the mouth of Richardson's Pamela: "Your Power I know can ruin me, but cannot strip my Mind of Honesty, which, while I wear, though in a loathsome Dungeon, sets me above that Wretch, who discontended [*sic*] stalks in Palaces, pursued by Guilt, and its black Follower, Reflection."[56] Pamela is a virtuous exception to the play's general rule of sexually loose servants, but her virtue does not make her a literate moral agent. That role is reserved for the "honest" clergyman. Goldoni's version is even more wary about giving a servant moral authority. This text is laden with

fears of "contaminating" aristocratic "blood," and Bonfils marries Pamela only when she is revealed as the daughter of a Scottish nobleman who has disguised himself as a day laborer out of fear of retribution for his Jacobite politics. The nobleman is pardoned, the aristocratic couple weds, and Britain is symbolically united[57]—all pointedly without cross-class sexual intermixing.

The Pamela plays are evidence of how Richardson's model of a shared moral culture between master and servant was reworked in different social contexts and literary exchanges. The setting in which a text is consumed makes a difference. It is one thing to read a novel, and quite another to watch a play in a theater where servants and masters mixed and even, as shall be seen in chapter 5, sometimes fought each other for the right to public space and voice. The Pamela plays are far more nervous than Richardson's novel about the spectacle of ethically and socially sanctioned cross-class eroticism between master and maid. The ideal of a shared moral literacy between master and servant is qualified by the "problem" of the domestics' sexual difference in the theatrical rewritings of *Pamela*. It is, of course, just this matter of the servant's sexuality that is at issue in the print debates over Pamela's virtue.

Nonetheless, Richardson's novel effected a shift in perception of the sexually charged relationship between master and woman servant. It is a long way from "hungry dogs will eat dirty puddings" to the complex moral and material negotiations between Pamela and Mr. B—. *Pamela* changes a relation based on male sexual consumption into an erotic exchange, albeit hardly one on equal terms for both genders. The meaning of that interchange, and its social and ethical significance, depends on the *Pamela* literature's most hotly debated question: What motivates the sexually desirable woman servant? Greed? Lust? Or a moral conscience that links her culturally as well as physically to her master? Richardson, then, shifts emphasis from what to *do* with the sexually objectified woman servant—how to control or contain her appeal—to how to *read* her—how to know her thoughts and feelings. Following Richardson's novel, the debate over what Pamela really wants prepares the way for a psychology of feminine desire. Freud's infamous question—What does woman want?—finds historical precedence in the midcentury discussions about how to interpret the sexuality of the woman servant. It is not gender difference alone that motivates arguments over Richardson's servant-heroine, but changes in the specific relations between different social classes summed up in literature on "the servant problem." Who is the woman whom Defoe was quick to dismiss as "slippery in the tail," and whom Richardson demands that we take seriously as an individual with a moral conscience?

Ten years after the publication of Richardson's novel, an eighteen-year-old

female servant named Elizabeth Canning became the object of an interpretive debate that could only have been the legacy of the *Pamela* controversy. In the print disputes over her guilt or innocence, the terms in which Pamela's motives and identity are debated are mapped onto a much less idealized object. The public arguments over Elizabeth Canning's mysterious disappearance demonstrate how a sexual hermeneutics for understanding the female domestic emerged from Richardson's reframing of "the servant problem," at least as it regards women, as a matter of reading and interpretation.

THE CASE OF ELIZABETH CANNING

In 1753, Elizabeth Canning, an eighteen-year-old servant girl, disappeared from her home in a suburb of London for approximately two months, and then returned to her mother's house lacking most of her clothing, shivering with cold, and starved to emaciation. Canning's explanation of her disappearance was that she was accosted by two men who robbed her of a small amount of money and her clothing and delivered her to a morally disreputable house run by "Mother" Wells, a procuress. There, according to Canning, a woman named Mary Squires, a gypsy, tried to force her into prostitution by confining her in a drafty attic room, without fire and with only one loaf of bread and a jug of water for food. She finally escaped through a window, walking over ten miles to reach her mother's home. Canning was neither a Pamela nor a Syrena Tricksey. By all accounts plain, uneducated, even slow-witted, Canning nonetheless became the object of an interpretive struggle that echoes the terms of the *Pamela* controversy ten years earlier. Ironically, the magistrate who began the print debates over Canning's sexuality and moral identity was the author of *Shamela*, Henry Fielding, who saw Canning as the sympathetic victim of criminal predators. Fielding believed Canning's story and, on the basis of her accusation and the testimony of a prostitute of the house, Virtue Hall, remanded Squires to prison.

As the case gained notoriety, Canning attracted popular sympathy, and a subscription in the amount of about £300 was taken up for her relief. Then, in an odd turn of events, Sir Crisp Gascoyne, the Lord Mayor of London, disagreed with Henry Fielding, and began a campaign that ended with Squires receiving a pardon from the King while Canning was tried, in turn, for perjury. She was eventually convicted and transported to the North American colonies, but the case was highly controversial, the subject of over forty pamphlets published from 1753 to 1755, including one each by Fielding and Gascoyne. The Canning trial remained a staple

of subsequent *Newgate Calendars* and *Malefactors' Registers* as one of the century's great unresolved mysteries. The midcentury debates over Canning focus on the evidence that emerged from Fielding's interrogation of Canning and her subsequently published trial for perjury: the testimony of over forty witnesses, including Canning herself, the state of Canning's clothing, and her physical condition at the time of her return to her mother's house. The "Canningites," on one side of the controversy, offer an interpretation supporting the woman servant's sexual innocence, even her heroism in fending off prostitution. The "Egyptians," the supporters of the gypsy Mary Squires, construe the same evidence as indicative of Canning's sexual misbehavior and her subsequent attempts to cover her "crimes." The hotly argued but inconclusive nature of this case echoes the *Pamela* controversy a decade earlier. What emerges from the Canning debates is not so much a single image of the woman servant, or even just a cluster of stereotypes, but rather the latter's status as an object for elucidation, an unsolved "problem" on the horizon of sexual possibility, with its own sort of hermeneutics but no clear solution. The woman servant emerges from the Canning debates, as from the *Pamela* controversy, as a problem in interpretation.

One of the mysteries about this conundrum for modern readers is why the case was so interesting to so many people in the eighteenth century. Why an otherwise unremarkable woman, telling a story that is odd, but hardly sensational, became the object of such debates and inquiry is itself something of a puzzle. The fascination of the Canning case for midcentury audiences becomes more understandable in the context of "the servant problem" and the controversy stirred up by Richardson's novel a decade earlier. The terms of the Canning dispute line up with the polarized debate over the sexuality of female domestics: is Canning a childlike innocent, victimized by brutally criminal outlaws, or is she a wily manipulator of the justice system who uses innocent bystanders to escape the consequences of her own sexual misdeeds? *The Case of Elizabeth Canning Fairly Stated* lays out the moral possibilities: either "her Virtue, which she perserv'd at the Hazard of her Life, deserves that Reward and Encouragement, which the Publick has so liberally bestow'd upon her," or Canning told her story "purely to conceal her own criminal Transactions in the Dark."[58] What was being debated was not just the sexual guilt or innocence of a particular eighteen-year-old female domestic, but the kinds of sexual identity that were attributable to women of her position in the social order. Who was the woman servant? Was she a vulnerable but morally heroic "child" of the family, an object for protection as well as of desire? Or was her sexuality inherently a threat, a snake in the domestic grass? Part of

Canning's fascination, I would argue, is her plainness and banality. Unlike the paragon Pamela, she was perfectly ordinary, a blank that could be written into either role.

In the Canning case, the enigma of the woman servant's sexuality was entwined with another contemporary issue of considerable concern to Henry Fielding, among others: the interpretation and use of circumstantial evidence in a court of law. The Mary Blandy poisoning trial had taken place in the previous year, and while the spectacle of a middle-class daughter committing patricide was by far more sensational than the issue of how evidence is used in a jury trial, Alexander Welsh documents this trial's foregrounding of how prosecutors and defenders created "strong representations" of guilt or innocence through the use of circumstantial evidence.[59] The question of how legal professionals forge creditable stories from the materials of physical evidence and mixed testimony to explain events that nobody, in fact, witnessed was fresh in the mind of Fielding when he encountered the Canning case as a magistrate, and it was also probably uppermost in the thoughts of the many avid writers and readers who participated in what might be legitimately called "the Canning wars." The appeal of these trials was fed by an interest in the use of evidence that was becoming, in the early years of the 1750s, something of a popular sport. As Welsh comments, "the management of the evidence became nearly as significant as the evidence itself and might be admired or criticized accordingly."[60] This interest in evidence also had implications for epistemological questions beyond a court of law. "The idea of waiting for the whole story, of getting the full picture, of not ruling anything out," Welsh argues, "did not depend on criminal prosecution alone for its currency. The rise of science played a part in the general respect for narrative, as did logic and natural theology; and these fields of inquiry were not as sharply distinguished as they are today."[61] The attention that this seemingly unremarkable case drew can best be explained in the twin contexts of a public consciousness about the use of evidence in a jury trial and the much-printed concerns about "the servant problem," in particular, the "problem" of the woman servant's sexuality.

At least some of the stakes in establishing Canning's "true" story, as perceived by participants in the debates, had to do with the ability of the British judicial system to discern the criminal from the victim. That the evidence under consideration concerned the highly problematic construct of the woman servant's sexuality made the case all the more interesting. The pamphlet literature on the Canning trials, amazingly enough, makes interpreting that sexuality a test case for British justice. Both the "Canningites" and "Egyptians" align their interest in the litigation regarding this very ordinary servant girl with a concern for justice: "a

zealous Regard for my Country's Laws, and a Desire, if possible, to find out the Truth, caused my Attention to both Parties," one pamphleteer writes.[62] As another anonymous pamphleteer (now identified as Allan Ramsay) stated: "For this is not barely an enquiry concerning a pair of old stays, or the bad diet of a servant wench; nor about the life of an old gipsy (tho' no man ought to think himself too great to interest himself in the distresses of the meanest) but it is an enquiry of a much more interesting kind: no less than an enquiry into the nature of moral evidence, the axis upon which all human affairs turn, and of which the true knowledge is of the greatest use to persons of all ranks."[63] Pamela's claims to interpretation as an individual with a moral conscience shared by her employer's class are ostensibly personal and familial, but the Canning debates reveal that the stakes of the woman servant's claims to "virtue in distress" extend beyond the family into an emergent ideology of British justice and the public culture that supported it.

Servants' legal status in the courts is an important part of the ideological horizon for domestic labor relations in the eighteenth century. *The Laws Relating to Masters and Servants*, a frequently reprinted pamphlet, suggests a high level of conscious pride in a British judicial system that gave servants, at least theoretically, legal status: "In the Infancy of our Constitution the Common People of England were little better than Slaves. But since the Abolition of Vassalage, Knight's Service, and Homage, the Tyranny of the Nobility is restrained; the Commonality are upon the same Footing, as to Liberty and Property, as the Gentry; and Servants of the lowest Class, being under the protection of the Laws, if mal-treated, have the same Remedy and Redress as their Masters."[64] While Canning's case did not involve, as Pamela's did, the maltreatment of servant by master, it, like Richardson's novel, made the female domestic's sexuality the object of an interpretive process upon which hung the validity of an egalitarian system of justice that was becoming paradigmatic for one important model of how society works.

Responses to Canning's successful "remedy and redress" from Justice Fielding reveal both faith in and anxiety about the judicial system's ability to interpret evidence: "By the free and happy constitution of our country, it so happens, that the lowest man in it may be call'd upon, as a jury-man, to decide in matters that immediately concern the lives and goods of his fellow subjects." Therefore, Ramsay continues, "it extremely behoveth every man who may be called upon to sit in judgement, that is every Englishman, to make himself well acquainted with the nature of evidence."[65] Yet he is hardly confident of the jury system in practice, however supportive he is of it in theory: "Altho' I shall always look upon a trial by juries as the great bulwark of our political liberty; yet, in the present state of ignorance, credulity, and irregular method of enquiry, I should be extremely

fearful of my life and character, if I were accused of a capital offence; and should, by no means, think my innocence a sufficient protection."[66] Trial by jury, the heart of British "political liberty," depends, Ramsay suggests, on interpretive skills that do not come naturally to all men. Nor are they the birthright of the gentry. "Every Englishman" must learn to interpret evidence systematically and accurately, a state of legal literacy that he feels Englishmen are far from achieving. What is also at stake is the idea of disinterestedness, what McKeon calls "the ethico-epistemological process whereby judgment is purified of its sensible grossness through virtualization," a process that floated ambiguously in this period between the landed gentry and those with less traditional claims.[67] The Canning case fascinated readers in part because it posed a problem in interpretation that spoke to the efficacy of the jury system and the public-sphere culture with which it was increasingly identified. After the print controversy over *Pamela*, the woman servant was subject to conflicting readings. She had become a socially recognizable "problem" in interpretation, and a particularly interesting test for the British judicial system.

The "problem" of reading Canning evoked another well-known, socially prevalent interpretive challenge: the issue of servants' characters. By the 1750s, the practice of hiring servants on the basis of their "character," literally, a letter from a former employer testifying to their good morals and work abilities, was the object of considerable skepticism. Characters, it was frequently noted, were easily forged by unscrupulous servants. Defoe also complains of masters who, reluctant to destroy their former servants' chances at future employment, give good recommendations to bad servants. He pleads with mistresses, in particular, to write "fair, bold, and just characters" of servants, so as not to "cheat one another, as we do now, in giving characters to the vilest creatures that fall in our way."[68] He wishes that such letters could be placed under government regulation but, failing that, sees the honesty of masters as the most likely form of control over the servants' presentation of themselves to new employers.[69] Kearsley, in 1787, has given up on "written characters" altogether; even if the master is honest about a bad servant, that servant will simply forge him- or herself a better character.[70] Jonas Hanway warns against the ease with which servants "mean to support a certain character, by appearing to have more virtue than they can make a just claim to."[71] On the other hand, letters attesting to character also seem to be one of the most tangible pieces of evidence upon which servants were hired. The problem of assessing characters was clearly on Fielding's mind in proposing a "Universal Registry Office" to build some institutional accountability into the urban domestic labor market. The Canning case, like the *Pamela* controversy, shows female sexuality to

be a formidable problem in judging the woman servant's character, as shall be demonstrated later in this chapter. *Pamela* reassured its readers that the servant's character is more than a piece of paper; it is a moral identity shared with her employers. The novel further modeled a process of interpretation, that of knowing the servant's true worth through her writing. The Canning debate, on the other hand, with its legal context and implications, brought to the discussion and controversy over servants' characters a heightened awareness of "the nature of evidence." What is the process by which a female domestic's "character" should be read? How is "character," as a sort of social coinage for moral and, in the case of the woman servant, sexual respectability, grounded in legal evidence?

Followers of the Canning trials were, by the end of the perjury trial, overwhelmed by the sheer quantity of legal evidence. Over forty witnesses testified, and print versions of the perjury trial went to many pages. The concept of character proved crucial to the evaluation of this evidence. The opening salvo in the Canning pamphlet war, fired by Fielding, proceeds deductively, reading evidence framed within a social theory of character.[72] Fielding writes that his initial legal judgment of Canning's veracity is based on a comparison of the servant's reputation with that of her alleged assailants. "Her Character," Fielding writes, "is better than that of Street-robbers and Gipsies."

> That Street-robbers and Gipsies, who have scarce even the Appearance of Humanity, should be guilty of wanton Cruelty without a Motive, hath greatly staggered the World, and many have denied the Probability of such a Fact: Will they then imagine, that this Girl hath committed a more deliberate, and, therefore, a more atrocious Crime, by endeavouring to take away the Lives of an old Woman, her Son, and another Man, as well as to ruin another Woman, without any Motive whatever? Will they believe this of a young Girl, hardly 18 Years old, who hath the unanimous Testimony of all who ever knew her from her Infancy, to support the Character of a virtuous, modest, sober, well-disposed Girl; and this Character most inforced by those who knew her best, and particularly by those with whom she hath lived in Service.[73]

The character given Canning by her master is frequently cited in her defense,[74] and Canning's good repute, versus that of Squires, is a recurrent argument of the Canningites.[75]

The historical accident of Squires' racialization as a gypsy supported the Canningites' character arguments. Fielding is the first to reason from the basis of Canning's ethical and moral qualities as a servant versus the criminal reputation of gypsies, describing Squires and her family as "Wretches very little removed,

either in their Sensations or Understandings, from wild Beasts," who have "scarce even the Appearance of Humanity."[76] Canning's innocence is supported by a rhetorical opposition between such understandings of "Gipsies" and "a poor, honest, innocent, simple Girl."[77] The *Free Enquirer* of May 23, 1753, asks, "Is there not a considerable difference between the character of E.C. and those of a bawd and a gypsey; a sort of people, whose very professions, generally speaking, entitle them to the gallows?"[78] Defenses of Squires, on the other hand, attempt to draw a sympathetic human portrait, emphasizing her age and infirmity, and the son and daughter who travel with her, and asking for more homely, familial responses to the gypsy.[79] Canning, according to the Egyptians, is the true outlaw whose covert sexuality is the real threat. Both sets of arguments are concerned with sorting the criminal from the innocent. The maid and the gypsy posed a problem in interpretation that tapped into deep anxieties about who is protected from whom by British justice. The theory of character lent rhetorical force to the Canningites' arguments without, however, solving this problem.

Reading legal evidence deductively through the lens of character also embeds the writer's conclusions within an affective context that, as is shown in chapter 2, derives from understanding servants as being "in the posture of children" to their masters. The servant with a good character is more than a worker with a good recommendation—she has affective claims to protection. Fielding's pamphlet stresses the "Childishness and Simplicity"[80] of Canning's character: Canning is a "poor little Girl,"[81] "a poor simple Child,"[82] "a Child in Years, and yet more so in Understanding, with all the evident Marks of Simplicity that I ever discovered in a human Countenance."[83] Fielding presents Canning as a not-very-bright child with a right to his readers' sympathies as well as their justice. Canning appealed, as writers on both sides of the case well knew, to "every one who has any regard for the safety of their own children and relations."[84] "Let any one now in a higher station of life apply what has been said to a daughter of their own, dutiful to her parents, decent, modest, and virtuous, and with the appearance of every other good quality of her station; and, bringing this close home to themselves, let them reflect, whether they should suspect such a daughter of such deliberate iniquity?"[85] The Canningites made strong emotional appeals based upon their readers' sense of domestic attachments: "Now, Gentlemen, this poor Girl, I consider as a Child of yours, a fatherless Child, the Stay and Comfort of a poor honest and industrious Widow, that has four younger Children besides to labour for."[86] Richardson's sympathetic fiction of a virtuous servant girl bleeds through the rhetoric of some of the Canningites. James Dodd, a doctor who examined Canning, is "very much concerned, to find this Girl hath more female than male Opponets

[*sic*]. I know not whether the Appellation of Virtue, joined to the Name of a poor Girl, an obscure Servant, is not hateful in the Ears of many, who, perhaps, from the Examination of their own Hearts, think it hath no Existence any where, and that it is a Word alone, and no reality."[87] For Dodd, Canning is a Pamela-like exemplar of feminine virtue, a reproach to upper-class women who lack the virtuous hearts of Canning and her fictional counterpart.

The Egyptians were quick to point out the obstacle to interpreting evidence in light of Canning's good character and the sympathetic role, enhanced by the image of Pamela, in which it placed her: the sexuality attributed to a young woman in domestic service. One Egyptian writes, "What was the cause of this unfortunate Creature's deviating from the Path of Virtue . . . does not clearly appear: She was meanly, though not wickedly, brought up, and had lately, you see, been a Servant in an Ale-house, where we may suppose, at least, that she was not much strengthened in Virtue. I don't pretend to say, there is any direct Proof of her want of Chastity; but I think it may be fairly enough conjectured as the incentive of her present Guilt; . . . as she once bore a fair Character, it is probable that she did not fall into this Sin at once. Which, I think, is all that can be inferred from her good character."[88] Another Egyptian is even more skeptical of Canning's feminine innocence: "I shall observe, that this *poor simple Child*, as she is call'd is near eighteen Years of Age; an Age when the Female Sex have generally their Wits about 'em, see the Strength of their Capacities, and perhaps exert their Qualities and Excellencies more at that Time than they do either before or after. Whatever Charms they possess, either of Body or Mind, they are then fond of displaying them to the best Advantage. Now, tho' this Girl be harmless and ignorant, yet I never heard any Body call her *Fool*."[89]

Many of the Canningites, in fact, struggle with the problem of Canning's sexuality. Fielding simply rejects it as having anything to do with the case: "Why did this Girl conceal the Person who thus cruelly used her? It could not be a Lover; for among all the Cruelties, by which Men have become infamous in their Commerce with Women, none of this Kind, can, I believe be produced."[90] Fielding's inability to conceive of a man capable of the "Cruelties" inflicted on Canning is mocked by one pamphlet: "Where a Girl like this, could be; and how employed during the time; is not difficult to imagine. Not with a Lover certainly, say you! You would be happy, Sir, if all you beg should be allowed you. Not with a Lover, Sir! Eighteen, let me remind you, is a critical Age; and what would not a Woman do, that had made an Escape, to recover her own Credit and screen her Lover."[91] The Egyptians explain Canning's absence and physical state as the results of a pregnancy, treatment for venereal disease, or even abortion.[92] A ballad

attributes Canning's disappearance to "a Cuckoo (five Months before) laid in her Nest, / And that her Pr-t-ct-s may learn, to their Shame, / That she has miscarry'd—I mean of her Aim."[93] Another pamphleteer hints that "there are such distempers as lyings-in and miscarriages, to which young servant-maids of eighteen are very much subject; . . . It may not be amiss to hint, that thirteen shillings and six-pence, with the sale of a gown and pair of stays, is hardly more than sufficient to defray the expences of such an operation; even altho' no part of it was expended in a christening, a wet nurse, or a coffin, which, not to continue any idea of horror in your Lordship's imagination, might have been all provided by that most humane institution, the Foundling-Hospital."[94]

The Egyptians' attacks on Canning's sexuality draw heavily on the stereotyping of the woman servant as slut. On the other hand, the Canningites incorporate in their understanding of character the trope of the virtuous servant-girl in distress put into circulation by Richardson. However firmly stated these polarized images of the female domestic are, reading through the print materials contemporary to the trial suggests deadlock rather than resolution over the case. Many of the pamphlets concerning Canning in the British Library are marked with the name of a coffeehouse; it is not much of a stretch to imagine an audience reading and arguing over materials from both sides. Indeed, collections of writings that juxtapose Canningite and Egyptian texts in a single volume, such as *Canning's Magazine*, suggest that part of the interest in these materials was, specifically, comparing the opposing arguments. After reading a number of these pamphlets, the deductive approach to evidence through character tends to dwindle into name-calling, and the woman servant, like Pamela, remains, quite literally, a problem of interpretation. Unlike Pamela, however, Canning was also subjected to investigations in which material evidence, though understood deductively as manifestations of moral character, is also the object of an inductive, one could almost say empirical method. While this approach by no means resolves the question of Canning's innocence or guilt, it establishes the woman servant's physical body as an evidential spectacle that holds out, without necessarily delivering on, the promise of truth.

Richardson had sidestepped the subject of Pamela's body by sanitizing its sexual functions and displacing its desirability literally onto the letters produced by her. Some of the Canningites, including Henry Fielding, follow Richardson's precedent, privileging a sort of narrative assessment of character—the most affecting story—over material evidence. On the other hand, details of Canning's physical state are used by writers on both sides as data that support or refute her story. The digestive and reproductive functions of Canning's body are read inductively

as signs of her veracity or mendacity. Could she have survived, as she said she did, for two months with only a jug of water, a small quantity of bread, and a minced pie that she had been carrying home as a present for her little brother? Did her "costiveness" keep her from starvation? Should the relatively clean state of her shift, the lack of evidence of menstrual flow or any other form of vaginal discharge, be read as proof of an amenorrheic body, rendered sexless by its labor and clean by sexual abstinence, or of a hidden pregnancy? Canning's body is, in either interpretation, represented as an evidential spectacle. Some writers on both sides see material details as proper objects for inductive interpretation only when medicalized and examined by "professionals." Some of these individuals *are* professionals. Others, doctors or not, wade fearlessly into discussions of bedgowns, shifts, bodily fluids, and symptoms of venereal disease. In the cumulative analysis, however, that body remains a puzzle, a seduction to know the truth rather than the truth itself.

Fielding avoided the issue of whether or not Canning could have physically endured what she claimed, leaving such issues "to the Discussion of Physicians."[95] Physical evidence of her surviving starvation, for Fielding, is subordinated to his assessment of character: even a detail such as the "pretty Incident of the minced Pye" is read as indicative of the "Goodness, as well as Childishness and Simplicity of her Character; a Character so strongly imprinted in her Countenance, and attested by all her Neighbours."[96] Daniel Cox, on the other hand, one of the physicians to whom Fielding throws such specialized matters, explains Canning's "costiveness" as "a salutary provision of nature, as before said, in order to the preservation of life."[97] James Dodd's *Physical Account of the Case of Elizabeth Canning* gives a similarly "scientific" reading of "the Probability of her subsisting in that Manner therein asserted," including astonishingly detailed mathematical calculations of the amount of water she would have lost through perspiration.[98] As if math were not enough, Dodd also includes the "scientific" precedent of a nine-year-old German girl named Margaret who "began to live without Food, and although she enjoyed all the Sports, Recreations, and Pastimes, equally with any other Children of her Age in the Neighbourhood, yet she was never known to eat any Victuals whatsoever."[99] The line between hard empirical evidence and a good story is not entirely clear, even in the hands of the "Physicians"; the details of what Canning ate and drank and what her body did on that diet support either scientific or "literary" interpretations of Canning—and sometimes both.

Canning's sexual innocence or guilt is, not surprisingly, the question that Daniel Cox, a physician who examined Canning and her clothing, seeks to resolve. Cox begins with Canning's good character as a servant, and his examination

of her garments confirms it. Cox covers nearly the same evidence as Sir Crisp Gascoyne, but with the opposite interpretation. Sir Crisp saw the clean shift as a sign that she was lying. Cox interprets the lack of "stains on the lower parts" as a sign of her innocence: "The girl had had no commerce with men, nor any distemper, or other discharge."[100] He explains the lack of evidence of menstrual bleeding as a consequence of Canning's catching cold while doing wash: "This is no uncommon case with servants who are obliged to dabble in cold water, the obstructions frequently continuing some months."[101] However strong their conviction, however firmly Sir Crisp and Cox state their beliefs, perusing these texts, indeed, reading the collection of pamphlets arguing for and against Canning's innocence together, one is struck, as were the editors of the *Newgate Calendars*, with the writers' need to create stories, to resolve the mystery in narrative terms. This compulsion continued through and did not end in the eighteenth century. The Canning case remained a compelling mystery story in subsequent *Newgate Calendars*, beginning in the 1770s, and has endured as the object of modern interest, undergoing several rewritings, including a mystery novel—*The Franchise Affair*, published by Josephine Tey in 1948—and an invaluable if partisan piece of scholarship by Judith Moore arguing for Canning's innocence.[102] Whether the writer's mode of interpretation is inductive or deductive—based on the evidence of Canning's body or her character as a servant—and whether it is fictional or scholarly, the Canning case is remarkable for its power to generate narratives about the motives and nature of female domestic servants.

The interpretive crux of the Canning case is her body's susceptibility to representation as both proof and pornographic joke. Sober truth easily turns to ribald laughter. Cox examines the horse's mouth to discover any evidence of a "salivation" for venereal disease: "On Wednesday, May 9, I looked into Elizabeth Canning's mouth, discover'd no marks or sears, such as are usually caused by mercury when any one is salivated . . . when she came home her skin was in general discolour'd, of a blackish hue, . . . whereas a salivation leaves the skin fair and pale. Neither indeed is the time she was absent sufficient for such a process, without leaving some degree of spitting and a sore mouth when she came home, which, on enquiry, I have reason to think was not the case."[103] Unable or unwilling to examine Canning's more private orifices, Cox employs a midwife, who testifies to her not having given birth. Cox's serious presentation of physical evidence may convince, but it cannot stave off Rabelaisian laughter at the doctors' scientific encounters with the servant woman's body. For example, the comic ballad "The Devil Outdone" mocks the efforts of his colleague, James Dodd.

My Pen is grown weary, or else I wou'd tell ye
How a sapient Physician has grop'd at her Belly,
And how the grave Doctor has taken great Pains
To demonstrate that People may write without Brains.[104]

The examination of Canning's body is treated, on the one hand, as sober science, and, on the other, as an occasion for rude jokes about the sexual habits of servant girls. Cox, very aware of the obscene narratives being spun around Canning, huffily dismisses the theory that Canning's story was fabricated to "cover a private Lying-in" as "levity and wantonness unbecoming the importance of the subject."[105] The Canningites use the physical evidence of Canning's body to defend the virtuous character of their heroine with Richardsonian righteousness; the Egyptians mock their construction of the servant woman's virtue out of the physical details of her bodily functions and the banal evidence of her shift and bedgown.

Finally, writers on both sides subject the physical evidence, interpreted either inductively or deductively, to the criterion of narrative plausibility, that is, whether or not the details of Canning's story hold up to the scrutiny of the writer. One particular part of Canning's testimony before Fielding—Squires' alleged attempt to force her into prostitution—stands out for many commentators.

> that in about half an Hour after the Recovery of her Senses they carried her into an House where she saw in the Kitchen an old Gipsy Woman and two young Women; that the old Gipsy Woman took hold of her by the Hand, and promised *to give her fine Cloaths if she would go their Way*, which Expression she understanding to mean the becoming a Prostitute, she utterly refused to comply with; upon which the old Gipsy Woman took a Knife out of a Drawer and cut the Stays off this *Elizabeth Canning*, and took them away from her, at which time one of the Men likewise took off her Cap, and then both the men went away; that soon after they were gone, and about an Hour after she had been in the House the old Gipsy Woman forced her up an old Pair of Stairs, and pushed her into a Back-room like a Hay-loft, without any Furniture whatsoever in the same, and there locked her up, threatening that if she made the least Noise or Disturbance, the old Gipsy Woman would come up and cut her Throat, and then fastened the Door on the Outside and went away.[106]

This moment in Canning's story drew attention, in part, because it repeats, with some significant differences, a ubiquitous warning to female domestics.

Literature on "the servant problem" often dramatizes the recruitment of naïve young women servants into prostitution. In *A Present for a Servant-Maid*, Eliza Haywood, for example, writes of the "innocent young Creature" seeking a place who is preyed upon by a procuress: "Here Temptations of all Kinds are offered her; she is not treated as a Servant but a Guest; her Country Habit is stripped-off, and a gay modish one put on in the Stead; and then the designed Victim, willing or unwilling, is exposed to Sale to the first leud Supporter of her Mistress's Grandeur that comes to the House: If she refuses the shameful Business for which she was hired, and prefers the Preservation of her Virtue to all the Promises can be made her, which way can she escape? She is immediately confined, close watched, threatened, and at last forced to Compliance."[107] This scene was widely circulated beyond the perimeters of "the servant problem." The trope of the servant girl drawn into prostitution had a broad cultural dissemination and even, by the early 1750s, carried with it certain characteristic details: the temptation of finery and the "close confinement" of the victim as preludes to "going on the game." One of the problems commentators found with Canning's story is the ways in which it both does and does not fit the expectations created by the scenario of the young woman servant lured into prostitution. While Canning was certainly confined, even Fielding admits that Squires urging Canning to "go our way" was an ambiguous invitation to join a brothel. Also, the obvious poverty of the characters, and the setting of Mother Wells' house, did not jibe with the classic temptation of fine, if tawdry, clothes.

Fielding was well aware of the holes in Canning's story, listing six reasons why it might not be believed. Two of them have to do with the motives behind the kidnapping, and speak to the scenario of the woman servant forced into prostitution: "The Gipsy Woman doth not seem to have had any sufficient Motive to her Proceedings. If her Design was to make a Prostitute or a Gipsy, or both, of this poor Girl, she would, in all Probability, have applied to her during her Confinement to try what Effect that Confinement had produced." Fielding's response to this anticipated criticism is that human evil does not need a motive: "How many Cruelties indeed do we daily hear of, to which it seems not easy to assign any other Motive than Barbarity itself? In serious and sorrowful Truth, doth not History as well as our own Experience afford us too great Reason to suspect, that there is in some Minds a Sensation directly opposite to that of Benevolence, and which delights and feeds itself with Acts of Cruelty and Inhumanity?"[108] Fielding correctly anticipated the skepticism of other readers on this point in Canning's narrative. As one writes, "the pretty Innocent, such we should take her to be from the Story, tells us she was tempted strongly: she was promis'd *fine Cloaths*, if she

would *go their Way*. This is the Account; and in the Name of Reason let us consider it. The Phrase is an odd and unnatural one; and the fine Cloaths were to be given. By whom? By one who hardly had a Covering for herself, and in a Place where every thing spoke Beggary: Unnatural, ridiculous, and absurd!"[109] Another writer asks, "was it ever read in any of the records of iniquity, that an old bawd and her associates were so ignorant of their own trade, as to think of winning a young girl to the ways of lewdness by hunger and cold; or to raise the price of her beauty by starving her black in the face?"[110] The very randomness of the crimes against Canning made it difficult to fit her into the cultural narratives available for understanding the sexuality of female domestics.

The problem of reading Canning repeats the difficulty that is central to *Pamela*—comprehending the woman servant—without providing the reassuring framework of the "correct" interpretation to which everyone who comes to know Pamela must arrive. Richardson's novel resolves the issue of how one perceives the female domestic by creating an ever-growing circle of converts-by-reading—encompassing first Mrs. Jervis and her fellow servants, and finally extending even to Lady Davers and her libertine nephew—those who come to appreciate Pamela's "true" value. The history of the Canning case did not then, nor does it now, provide this assurance. The enigma of the woman servant's sexuality remains unresolved. Is it made comprehensible through a shared set of ethics that regulates even as it creates desire? Or is it evidence of an ineluctable and intractable difference, grounded in labor as well as gender status? While Richardson, in his novel, imagined a moral culture disseminated through reading and writing, the Canning case, like the anti-*Pamela* literature, gives literacy a far more problematic status.

Readings of Pamela are mediated through her letters; characters in the novel consistently come to know and appreciate her true value through her writing. While Canning is a less compelling object than Pamela, she is also interpreted not just through her character or the physical evidence of her body and clothing, but through the quality of her story. But while Pamela's account expresses the truth of her interiority, who she really is, Canning's is seen as true only because it does not reflect her intellectual capacity. Truth is not in the expression of the female domestic's inner being, but in the readers' evaluation of her tale. Fielding believes it because its literary quality exceeds her ability. He cannot suppose "her witty enough to invent such a Story; a Story full of Variety of strange Incidents, and worthy the invention of some Writer of Romances, in many of which we find such kind of strange Improbabilities that are the Productions of a fertile, though commonly a distempered, Brain; whereas this Girl is a Child in Years, and yet more so

in Understanding, with all the evident Marks of Simplicity that I ever discovered in a human Countenance."[111] Fielding argues that Canning's story is too wildly inventive to have been the creation of an unimaginative servant girl. Cox agrees with Fielding that Canning could not have written such a complex narrative: "to invent a story so crowded with incidents, of so various and extraordinary a kind, or to relate it when invented, which is perhaps a harder task, and to make it hang so well together, as that a few important facts being made clear, the chain of the whole may be discerned, would demand understandings far superior to these girls [Canning and Hall], even the genius and abilities of a CERVANTES."[112] Switching genres from prose fiction to drama, Cox points out Canning's inability to control the performative aspects of her story: "Besides, in Canning's *Drama*, the *Persona* are numerous—The girl herself, her mother, her friends, who saw her the night she came home, and those who went down to Enfield on the first of February to take the people at Wells's House, some of whom were witnesses on the trial, with many witnesses besides, to facts of a much more various kind than a simple alibi, must all of them, if they do not swear truly, have had their different parts cast for them, and been in constant rehearsal, to be able to perform with such exactness and harmony."[113] The Canningites argue that her account is too good a one to be the creation of a dull-witted servant girl. Their evaluation of Canning's veracity rests on their aesthetic evaluation of her tale as more complex and interesting than she is. Canning—unlike Pamela, who writes the truth of her identity—is the passive recipient of a veracity that depends upon the interpretation of her story.

The Egyptians, on the other hand, base their conviction of Canning's perjury on the poor quality of her narrative. John Hill attacks Fielding's reasoning by suggesting that only a particularly clumsy liar could tell such a wild story, "a Piece of contradictory Incidents, and most improbable Events; a waking Dream; the Reverie of an Idiot."[114] "You supposed the Girl not *wicked* enough to have devised such a Deceit: That, God and her own Heart alone can tell; and neither you nor I have Right to judge of it. But you add, and this we both may judge of, That you do not suppose her *witty* enough to have invented the Story. I give you Joy, Sir, of your own Wit, for thinking so! I am very far from entertaining an high Opinion of the Girl's Intellects; but such as they are, I think the Story tallies with them: none but a Fool could have devised so bad a one."[115] Canning's veracity is a matter for literary criticism; the aesthetic evaluation of her account is pivotal to discerning the woman servant's true sexual identity. A later Egyptian compares Fielding's own storytelling abilities to Canning's tale.

How could so young, and simple a girl contrive so artful a story?

Answer. It is not artful, but on the contrary, an exceeding stupid story. An artful story, is such a story as *Tom Jones*, where the incidents are so various, and yet so consistent with themselves, and with nature, that the more the reader is acquainted with nature, the more he is deceived into a belief of its being true; and is with difficulty recall'd from that belief by the author's confession from time of time of its being all a fiction. But what is there plausible in the adventures of *Enfield Wash*? . . . Such is the variety of these incidents, which owe all their *strangeness* to the senseless manner in which they have been, with respect to time and place, jumbled together.[116]

According to this writer, the credibility of Canning's story rests not on her abilities, but on the readiness of her audience to fall into the bad habits of uncritical reception: "The innocent countenance and distressed appearance of the girl, joined with her good character, had from the very first such an effect upon the good people of the neighbourhood, as to deprive them of all power of examination . . . all doubt and reason took their flight, and left nothing to direct the conduct of the well-meaning *substantial tradesmen*, but passion and enthusiasm."[117] He concludes: "There has hitherto appeared no contrivance or romantic genius in Canning; nor has there appeared any occasion for genius, in order to deceive men who had such an appetite for being deceived."[118] Like Fielding's Parson Tickletext, those who believe Canning's story are self-indulgent, easily manipulated readers.

Outside the fiction of Richardson's novel, truth does not flow inevitably from the female domestic's story. If *Pamela* changed the hermeneutics of how the woman servant is construed, it did not resolve the epistemological question of who or what she is. What it did accomplish was the establishment of the maidservant's sexuality as a problem in interpretation, a puzzle shaped by the cross-hatching ideologies of gender and labor relations at this historical moment. The Canning case brought an impressive array of methods for determining the truth to bear on that puzzle: traditional theories of character, empirical approaches to physical evidence, even literary criticism. But ultimately, the sexuality of the woman servant remains a locus for questioning rather than an answer to who she is.

The mystery of Elizabeth Canning is about more than the obscure truth of what happened to a particular young woman as she walked home one dark night; it is even about more than the larger question of the sexual identity and behavior of female domestics. The puzzle is what lies at the heart of such a huge outpouring of intellectual and emotional energy over women servants in the period from

1740 to around 1760. How did female domestics become the object of such a determined effort to write and read the truth? The relationship between master and maid that was imagined by Richardson, with its revolutionary effects, may yield some answers. The antagonism and intimacy, fear and attraction, hate and love that characterize Mr. B—'s relationship to Pamela, and emerge in terms both more banal and more troubling in responses to Canning, suggest that the enigma of the woman servant's desires and motives had serious emotional stakes for an increasingly literate culture of servants and their masters and mistresses. In both fictional and historical cases, the received character of the maid as an erotic target predetermines sexuality as *the* question, the wild card in relations between master and servant. While Richardson answered the query of what the woman servant wants with a reassuring picture of shared, moral culture—"she wants what you want"—the controversies over his novel and the Canning trial some ten years later suggest that the sexuality of the female domestic remains a question at the heart of both domestic intimacy in the early modern British family and public-sphere valuations of "the truth."

The persistence of this issue is evident in recent critical readings of the late nineteenth-century case of the servant Hannah Cullwick and her master Alfred Munby. Munby and Cullwick's lifelong affair and secret marriage, documented in diaries kept by both lovers and in photographs taken by Munby, still has literary critics and historians guessing. Bruce Robbins correctly points out Munby's fascination with the physical evidence of Cullwick's labor. Munby posed Cullwick in her working clothes and even, in one case, dressed as a half-naked African slave, in order to photograph her "in her dirt."[119] Anne McClintock, while not denying that Cullwick functioned as a working-class fetish for Munby, sees the woman servant in this case as seizing a certain agency through the sadomasochistic ritual of their erotic role-playing.[120] Who is Cullwick and what did she want? What power may she wield over her master in the very act of compliance with his desires? These are questions that begin with Mr. B—'s and Pamela's negotiation of a shared understanding, but they certainly do not end there. The unanswerability of the central issue—What does the female object of male desire want?—has a long history. I trace a small part of it in relationships of labor, as well as of gender, in the middle decades of the eighteenth century.

CHAPTER FOUR

Dangerous Intimacies

Roxana, Amy, and the Crimes of Elizabeth Brownrigg, 1724 to 1767

Interpreting the woman servant became a kind of cultural pastime in the mid-eighteenth century, an obsessive return to, rather than a resolution of, what this particular object of masculine desire might, herself, want. As an erotic object, but also as a subject to whom conscious motives were attributed, the female domestic compels explication. What is her power? Her motives? Her desires? The question of who or what Pamela and Canning want, whatever the answer, is framed by male sexuality, expressed both as the threat of rape or prostitution and, alternatively and controversially in the case of Pamela, an offer of marriage. The enigma of the woman servant's desire is produced by the newly emergent model of emotional as well as physical intimacy between master and maid, a development shaped in part by changing economic relations in the institution of domestic service, which were consciously registered in the literature on "the servant problem."

In the *Pamela* controversy and the debates over the Canning trial, the servants' mistresses play little or no role in the drama of heterosexual eroticism. Canning's is scarcely mentioned, while it is the death of Pamela's mistress that sparks the novel's chain reaction of masculine pursuit and feminine defense. Pamela's dead Lady is important, however, by her absence; it is she who has educated the teenaged servant girl into the refined and desirable woman that she is. While Pamela's parents have laid the moral foundation, it is Pamela's mistress who has continued her education, adding the aesthetic and intellectual refinements that draw her son to her maid and make her a suitable gentleman's wife. The loving intimacy between Pamela and her mistress, then, plays a vital if underrepresented

role in the novel. The aesthetics and morality that tie together employers and servants, even as they insure the social distance between them, are grounded in the relationship between mistress and maid. The female domestic as a paragon—honest, virtuous, and refined—is nurtured within this intimacy while she lives "in the posture of children," growing up in the cultural as well as emotional space of her mistress's protection, and this bond between women makes possible the creation of a servant who becomes the hybrid sexual object and moral guide that is Pamela.

While intimacy between mistress and maid is not depicted as the erotic game of cat and mouse played out in modern literary fantasies about women servants and their male employers, it is often a quieter point of origin for the sexual troubles seen in a wide range of literature. The chambermaid's role in the romantic life of her mistress is, of course, as much a cliché as that of the manservant as his master's pimp. The tradition of the lady's maid as a sexual facilitator to her mistress is ubiquitous in drama and the novel, and becomes a complaint in literature on "the servant problem." Swift gives this satirical advice to the chambermaid: "But to say the Truth, I confess it is a great Presumption in me, to offer you any Instructions in the Conduct of your Lady's Amours, wherein your whole Sisterhood is already so expert, and deeply learned; although it be much more difficult to compass, than that Assistance which my Brother Footmen give their Masters, on the like Occasion."[1] The gross differences between the female panderer and Richardson's paragon should not detract from two key similarities between these depictions of ladies' maids. Both, obviously, create sexual trouble in their employers' families and, less obviously but more importantly, both are products of intimacy between mistress and maid. While it is clear enough that one is a particularly nasty manifestation of "the servant problem" and the other a reassuring sign of the mistress's and woman servant's shared moral and aesthetic values, affinity between mistress and maid is not always so easy to categorize. Literature on "the servant problem," of which Defoe, the subject of much of this chapter, is a particularly prolific writer in the early part of the century, both highly values the mistress's affectionate guidance of her maid and mistrusts their resulting attachment. While midcentury literary representations of the master's relationship to the woman servant tend to focus on the latter's motives and desires as a conundrum to be answered, depictions of intimacy between mistress and maid portray the connection between the two as an interpretive problem.

If we give any credit to Freud, the affective family is a privileged site for the development of sexuality. The eighteenth-century British family, however, if recent historians are correct, combined affect and emotion with instrumental and

contractual relationships, a mixture of labor and love that is rarely spoken of in the history of sexuality. This chapter attempts to understand the emergence of modern theories of sexuality from structures of feeling embedded in eighteenth-century understandings of family, understandings that combine the affective with the contractual. Daniel Defoe's *Roxana, or the Fortunate Mistress* presents us with a partnership between mistress and maid that resists understanding either as a narrative about labor relations or as a love story. If we think of this text as both, however, it tells us that the two women's domestic intimacy signified for Defoe both a desirable efficiency in accumulating and managing capital and a deadly threat to the family, in particular its children. Unlike the homosocial love between men that George Haggerty shows to be the affective glue of eighteenth-century British public culture,[2] love between women is, puzzlingly, associated by Defoe with the violence that early English capitalism does to children, especially the children of the poor.

MISTRESS AS MENTOR

One of the reasons behind the obvious and ubiquitous literary interest in the relationship between mistress and female domestic is the important role that the mistress plays in the regulation of servants in general and maidservants in particular. If masters are depicted as the family's primary religious leaders, mistresses provide the day-to-day guidance that supports that leadership. Defoe's *Family Instructor* (1715) and *Religious Courtship* (1722), for example, give the mistress primary responsibility for her women servants' moral and religious training. *Religious Courtship* stages a dialogue between two female servants, the irreligious Mary and the pious Betty, in which the latter notes that the mistress is "obliged, while she keeps you for a Servant, to see that you serve God as well as you serve her."[3] Mary responds that the servants' religious practices are "none of [her mistress's] Business," to which Betty retorts, "If you were a Mistress, and kept a great many Servants, as our Mistress does, you would talk otherwise, and do otherwise, too, or else you would soon have a House full of Whores and Rogues."[4] "There are Mistresses enough in the World that never ask the Question either before or after, nor care whether their Servants serve God or the Devil," Mary observes, and Betty responds again, "Ay, Mary, and that is one Reason why so many of us Servants are of the same kind."[5] In another dialogue, an aunt and her nieces discuss "the servant problem." One niece laments, "'Tis but coarse Work to new-mould a Servant: As you find them, you have them generally. Most of the Servants of this Age are uncapable enough to be meddled with, I mean as to Instruction." Her

aunt is not so despairing of the task of reforming bad servants: "I have had a loose, wicked, irreligious Servant or two, who by taking some pains with them, have been brought to be very serious and very religious . . . it is not so hopeless a thing, however, as you may imagine."[6] Even—or especially—in the morally degenerate age of contractual domestic relations so much decried by Defoe and other writers on the subject of domestic employment, the good mistress teaches her servants to love the routines of household religious practices: family prayers morning and evening, strict attendance at church on Sundays, and the elimination of any "Sabbath-breaking" activities such as "walking out." If the servant refuses to fall in line, the mistress controls her ability to find another place through the "character" she gives her: "The Bread of a Servant would depend upon the Breath of a Mistress."[7]

Mistresses are essential, then, to retainers' subordination "in the posture of children." Like many writers on the subject of service, Defoe counterbalances the mistress's power over her servant with her nurturing care, coupling the employer's economic control over the maid with loving, moral instruction. In *Religious Courtship*, a maid gives her mistress warning. Instead of acting contractually and accepting the resignation, the wise mistress turns this rebellion into a teachable moment, threatening to give the maid a bad character. Frightened at the prospect of unemployment, the girl "fell a crying, run to me, and offering to kneel to me, begged my pardon, and told me she hoped I would allow her to recall her warning, for she was resolved she would live with me till she had deserved a better character." The mistress's interlocutor responds, "Poor girl! I should have told her she might go when she would then, for she had deserved a better character just then." The former replies, "I did not say so to her, but I would not let her kneel; and I told her I would not insist upon her warning, for as long as she behaved to me, I should, I believed, never put her away." The maid, treated by her mistress like an erring child rather than a recalcitrant employee, is given time and opportunity to mend. As a result, she "proved the best servant after it that anybody ever had."[8]

It is not that Defoe sees the contractual nature of service as an evil in itself. In fact, Defoe advocated strengthening the legal controls over servants' characters in order to tighten down on their mobility and choice of employment. But he insists, as many writers on domestic service do over the course of the century, on the affective as well as the contractual nature of that relationship. A strong bond between mistress and maid theoretically, at least, solves many of the problems faced by girls who go into service. It not only facilitates the girl's safe passage from employment into marriage, but it also offers protection down the road from the economic and domestic dangers of unions in families who labor for their living.

Eliza Haywood, never one to depend overmuch on marital security, notes the advantages to the serving maid "of living a great while in a Family": "Those of you who go young to Service, and continue in one Place eight or ten Years, will be then of a fit Age to marry, and besides being entitled to the Advice of your Mistress, will be certain of her Assistance in any Business you shall take up; your Children, if you have any, partake her Favour, perhaps some of them be taken into the Family, and both of you and yours receive a Succession of good Offices. If your Husbands behave well to you, they will be encouraged for your Sakes; and if ill, you may depend on Protection from them. An old and tried Servant is looked upon as a Relation, is treated with little less Respect, and perhaps a more hearty Welcome."[9] The contractual nature of the relationship between servant and employer was sweetened by affection and loyalty. Jonas Hanway's Farmer Trueman tells his seventeen-year-old daughter Mary: "The connexion between thy mistress and thee, is a solemn contract for mutual benefit, and it is necessary each should be informed, and truly understand what the other requires; that the discharge of this obligation with candor and justice, may create mutual kindness and regard. In some countries servants are treated as slaves: but we are all free, and our treatment is suited to our liberty."[10] Contractual obligations between "free" individuals balance delicately against "mutual kindness and regard." Farmer Trueman's words to his daughter might have been spoken by Pamela's father in sending her off to her "good old Lady's" service: "Gladly would I retain thee, as my partner in these my toils and comforts, and lead thee through the dangerous paths of life, had it not pleased heaven to present so excellent a lady to thee for a mistress. I hope she will be a guide, a teacher, and a friend."[11] The good mistress stands in for the father and, as in Pamela's case, is a crucial part of the female domestic's education. At the century's end, Sarah Trimmer, in her *Oeconomy of Charity*, urges young ladies to visit girls in charity school in order to accustom potential servants to think positively about their future mistresses: "Supposing it should so happen that girls are not hired by those very young ladies they are particularly attached to, they will at least have no prejudices against mistresses in general, as is too often the case with servants of the present day."[12] For Trimmer, the good woman servant is one who, if not brought up by her employer, is educated into expecting a positive attachment between mistress and maid. Under the patronage of young ladies, the Sunday school becomes, in Trimmer's idealized view, a sort of academy for bringing up future female domestics to look toward their mistresses as mentors and guardians. The pedagogical model of the servant as child depends on the maternal labor of the servant-employing woman.

While personal affection is part of the bond between mistress and maid hoped

for by Hanway and modeled by Defoe, this particular relationship between women was also mistrusted if it flowered into too great an intimacy. Part of this misdoubt is probably attributable to the suspect sexuality of the woman servant. Satires on pandering ladies' maids, like Swift's *Directions to Servants*; the tricky maids of stage comedy who manage their ladies' love affairs; and self-serving sexual entrepreneurs, such as Slip-Slop and Win Jenkins, in the novel—all articulate this longstanding distrust. However, *Pamela* set off a cultural revolution in thinking about the female domestic, and allowed for her conceptualization as a moral subject, sharing values, including chastity, with her mistress. As stakeholders within a mutual ethos, the mistress and her maid may be bound to each other in ways that would seem to resolve the "problem" of the woman servant's sexual nature and its possible corruption of her mistress. The feelings of real affection toward her mistress that Farmer Trueman hopes to instill in his daughter Mary, and Haywood's maternally fond mistresses, are both seen as necessary to the mentoring relationship upon which good domestic governance depends. But the sexually suspect lady's maid does not exit cultural consciousness even as her soberer sister Pamela enters it, and the bond between mistress and maid remains a point of concern. What is the nature of the intimacy between the two? What are the results, for family life, of strong affective relations between the women who direct domestic affairs and their female subordinates?

BETWEEN WOMEN

The lady's maid occupies a particularly sensitive role in discussions of proper conduct for women servants. Physically and often emotionally close to the daughters and wives of the gentry and upper artisan and merchant classes, the lady's maid must, according to conduct literature, epitomize the perfect servant. *The Servants' Guide and Family Manual*, for instance, notes that "the principal duty of the Lady's Maid is her personal attendance on her Mistress: she ought, therefore, to possess the qualifications of propriety and polite behaviour; and her conduct should be uniformly influenced by correct principles, and strict regard to religious and moral obligations. Although these ought, strictly speaking, to be the qualifications of every servant, yet in no instance will their necessity be more evident than in the situation of the Lady's Maid."[13] The primary concern of much of this literature, from Hannah Woolley in the seventeenth century to Samuel and Sarah Adams in the early nineteenth, is managing the intimacy that tends to form between women in close, daily contact so as not to violate class hierarchy.[14]

Hanway's Farmer Trueman counsels his daughter, "consider also thy particular situation as a servant. The superior station of thy mistress will naturally lead her to expect a degree of homage from thee: and that thou shouldst not speak but when thou art spoken to, and then be as ready as thou canst with thy answer. If her regard for thee should incline her sometimes to speak familiarly, never forget she is thy mistress. If she should occasionally consider thee as her humble friend, and companion, thy task will become the more difficult. If thou speakest boldly, it may be considered as impertinence; and if thou flatterest her, as is the custom of female servants in such circumstances, she being a woman of understanding, will look upon thee with contempt. In common life, we, who from birth and education, have no view beyond servitude, are apt to grow useless, if not impertinent, if we meet with much indulgence."[15] The closeness of mistress and maid was likely to break the Adamses' first rule for mistresses, to avoid "familiarity" with all their servants: "In your manner to your servants, be firm, without being severe, and kind, without being familiar. Never converse familiarly with them, unless on business, or on some point connected with their improvement; but with this reserve, and distance of manner, be particularly careful to maintain kindness, gentleness, and respect for their feelings."[16]

Defoe, in particular, seems to fear that the intimate working relationship of mistresses and woman servants in running a household could threaten not only class-based decorum, but the moral and religious order of the family. In *Religious Courtship*, Defoe tells the story of a mistress and her "servant whom they called her woman, for she was one to whom she intrusted everything, and who was like a housekeeper, and all the servants were as it were under her." This servant "was a sensible woman, had the knowledge of almost everything in the world, and talked admirable well, had a world of wit and humour, very mannerly and well-behaved, sober, and modest enough; in short, she was an excellent servant." While she runs the household efficiently and effectively, the woman servant still lacks the sense of "moral and religious obligation" seen as essential by both Defoe and the Adamses, one hundred years later: "And of that she was as entirely empty as you can imagine it possible for any creature in the world to be."[17] This "dangerous body" corrupts the entire household by making religious matters the object of her scorn and, most damagingly, disabling the master in his sanctioned role as the household's religious leader: "He declared he could not do it while that creature was to be there; that it was a restraint to him, and he could not perform when he knew there was one in the place who made a scoff and jeer at him for it."[18] The maid's power over the household interferes with the patriarch's religious management of his family. Her

mistress, though herself a religious woman, cannot be persuaded to dismiss her servant, "for, as I told you, she is an excellent servant, and the more her mistress is loath to part with her the harder she is to believe these things of her."[19]

Finally, the servant in *Religious Courtship* not only corrupts all the other servants "out of the little religion they had" but "kept the lady and her husband in very ill terms with one another for near two years."[20] The master of the family not being "able to prevail with his wife to part with her woman, he took so much upon him as to force her out of the house, that is to say, he put away the whole set of servants in the family." The damage to the marriage, however, is irreparable: "There is not all the harmony between them that there used to be."[21] The fear that the maid might spoil domestic affairs not because she is too poor a manager, but rather because she is too effective a one, takes a different form in Defoe's depiction of the connection between Amy and Roxana in *The Fortunate Mistress*. In Defoe's imagination, the bond between mistress and maid that grows out of good domestic and financial teamwork combines emotion and capitalist accumulation with both admirable and horrific effects—particularly on children.

THE UNFORTUNATE MISTRESS

The relationship between Roxana and her maid Amy is one of the most fascinating aspects of Defoe's novel, but few critics have given it close attention as an interpretive problem. Terry Castle's 1979 article bravely reads the disturbing nature of the intimacy between mistress and maid depicted in the novel as a perverse and dangerous iteration of the Freudian mother-child relationship; Amy plays active Mother to Roxana's passively narcissistic and voyeuristic Child. Roxana's slide into moral turpitude and Amy's deliberate and ultimately violent role in her mistress's career are seen by Castle as expressions of the Child's powerlessness in the face of adult potency: "Does not Amy's persistent modulation into powerful female, archetype of competence, possibly bespeak her closeness to a maternal persona? Likewise, does not Roxana express herself in relation to her companion essentially as child to parent?"[22] Castle's application of Freudian psychoanalysis in this reading is anachronistic but canny. As Ellen Pollak observes, "the premise that whatever unique power the formulations of modern anthropology and psychoanalysis might have to illuminate the dynamics of eighteenth-century prose fiction emanates neither from the timeless or universal applicability of modern theory nor from the immanent truth value of eighteenth-century fiction, but rather from the fact that modern theory reproduces so many of the early novel's structuring presuppositions about human nature and society."[23]

My reading of *The Fortunate Mistress* begins to historicize Castle's interpretation by situating it in the context of the mistress-maid relationship of "servant problem" literature. Amy and Roxana play out the nightmarish implications of the all-too-effective domestic team of the mistress and her female servant in Defoe's *Religious Courtship*. These horrific possibilities ripple out from the intimacy between maid and mistress imagined by Defoe to touch on broader social issues, specifically, the care, education, and labor of poor children. Rather than positioning Freud as "explaining" the relationship between Roxana and Amy, I interpret this fictional domestic partnership between women as an early focal point for cultural assumptions and anxieties about relationships and obligations between children and adult family members, concerns that Freud would later come to theorize as universal. *The Fortunate Mistress* is Defoe's exercise in imagining the economic and affective power of feminine intimacy to disrupt the household's hierarchy, and the stabilizing roles of mistress as mentor and the maid "in the posture of children." In her reading of Amy as Mother and Roxana as Child, Castle intuits the dangerous role confusion that plays out in Defoe's narrative. In her lethal efficiency, the maid assumes adult control over the family's affairs, while the family's biological children bear the ill effects of her management. Defoe boils the big question of adult responsibility for the well-being of children in a materialist, capitalist society down to the "problem" of a feminine domestic partnership that combines instrumental effectiveness with emotional affect.

As chapter 2 illustrates, eighteenth-century presumptions about the family cast servants and children in separate but overlapping roles. While life-cycle servitude was giving way to lifelong domestic service, the assumption that servants were children still persisted, even as the former, older model was gradually eroded by the constantly increasing numbers of poor children entering domestic service through the door of parish apprenticeship. Defoe's trope of the servant as child, then, had a double meaning in 1724, when *The Fortunate Mistress* was published. It expressed an appropriate domestic hierarchy between employers and household retainers, but it was also beginning to connect popular representations of servants with the growing numbers of very young, very vulnerable poor children for whom this form of apprenticeship was de facto foster care, with all its attendant dangers and exploitative possibilities. When it was working effectively, Defoe's family, in texts like *The Family Instructor* and *Religious Courtship*, embodied that hierarchy, enfolding its children—and its child-servants—in a protective domestic order. But Defoe was well aware of the emergent dangers to children who entered service because their parents were too poor to provide for them otherwise.

Like the mistress and maid in Defoe's *Religious Courtship*, Roxana and Amy are

unrelentingly effective domestic managers, with Amy taking charge of Roxana's sexual "capital" and her material wealth with undeniable success. After Roxana is financially ruined by her "fool" of a husband and the business misadventures of her brother, Amy is, as Castle observes, Roxana's agent, her means of achieving control over people and money. As a result of this partnership, the two women become hopelessly muddled in their roles: Amy is both Roxana's "Girl," the "Child" who shares her bed and her deepest secrets, and the efficient adult who, like Roxana, becomes a "Woman of Business." Amy's efforts with respect to Roxana's survival and later prosperity are, however, fraught with violence or potential violence against children, as well as with illicit sexuality. Her first action after Roxana's husband abandons her is disposing of Roxana's five children to reluctant relatives (who would be under coercion from Parish officials to take responsibility for these offspring) and to "Parish-Officers" appropriate to the children's place of birth. Nonetheless, Roxana recognizes their vulnerability in "Parish-keeping": "being Starv'd at Nurse; of their being ruin'd, let grow crooked, lam'd and the like for want of being taken care of."[24] Roxana's progeny are all under the age of ten, she tells us, exposed not only to greedy and corrupt parish wet nurses, but also subject to early apprenticeships that could function as fostering relationships, yet more often were brutally exploitative of children, both for parish fees and for whatever labor these youngsters could perform. The first "productive" step that Amy takes in Roxana's service exposes her mistress's children to the hazardous and sometimes violent path of "going on the Parish," a path that could lead to death or, as it does in the case of Roxana's daughter Susan, a life in domestic service.

Amy's aid to the destitute and unprotected Roxana is the latter's prostitution. She knows from the beginning that the Landlord's generosity is tied to his desire for Roxana, and advises her mistress to capitalize on it: "I'm sure if he will set you up, as he talks of, you ought to deny him nothing; and you will starve if you do not consent, that's certain."[25] Amy articulates and helps to implement the materialist instrumentalism of Roxana's relationships with men after her first, failed attempt at marriage. But the relationship between mistress and maid exceeds the instrumental model of financial survival and growth that Amy so effectively promotes.

Despite the financially motivated and calculating nature of Amy's relationship to Roxana, the two women's interaction produces an affective excess that, as in Castle's Freudian reading, seems to call out for modern psychoanalytic interpretation. This superfluity of emotion blurs the lines of identity between mistress and maid. In Roxana's narrative, Amy becomes a stand-in, a sort of emotional stuntwoman or body double for her mistress. During Roxana's first seduction by the

Landlord, Amy literally embodies her mistress's guilty conscience as well as her entrepreneurial spirit, as the Landlord himself seems to realize.

> While he found me change Colour, and look surpriz'd at his Discourse, for so I did to be sure, he turns to my Maid *Amy*, and looking at her, he says to me, I say all this Madam, before your Maid, because both she and you shall know that I have no ill Design, and that I have, in meer Kindness, resolv'd to do something for you, if I can . . .
>
> *Amy* made him a Curtsie, and the poor Girl look'd so confounded with Joy, that she could not speak, but her Colour came and went, and every now and then she blush'd as red as Scarlet, and the next Minute look'd as pale as Death.[26]

Amy physically mirrors feelings that Roxana only hints at in herself: her speechless "Joy" at being rescued from starvation, her blushing consciousness of the sexual agenda behind that rescue, and her fearful pallor in the face of where that agenda might lead. Castle does not make too great a claim in reading Amy as Roxana's double.

> After we had talk'd thus, he bade me be cheerful; come, says he, lay aside these melancholly things, and let us be merry: Amy waited at the Table, and she smil'd, and laugh'd, and was so merry she could hardly contain it, for the Girl lov'd me to an Excess, hardly to be describ'd; and it was such an unexpected thing to hear any one talk to her Mistress, that the Wench was besides herself almost, and as soon as Dinner was over, Amy went up-Stairs, and put on her Best Clothes too, and came down dress'd like a Gentlewoman.[27]

In fact, Amy offers to literally take Roxana's place—"Why look you, Madam, if he would but give you enough to live easie upon, he should lye with me for it with all my Heart"—not out of affection for or attraction to the Landlord, but for love of her mistress. Roxana's first seduction sets a pattern for the rest of the novel. *The Fortunate Mistress*'s lovers and children come and go; the novel's real, enduring love affair is between Roxana and Amy, whose material partnership and emotional intimacy takes on a psychological complexity and force attained by none of the novel's heterosexual liaisons. Even Roxana's cravings to embrace her long-lost daughter fail to approach the intensity and duration of her partnership with Amy. This love affair blurs the separation between servant and employer and forms them into a single, highly effective, entrepreneurial unit.

However the complexity of the mistress-maid relationship may anticipate oedipal theories of the child's rebellion against and eventual replacement of the

parent, it is very much the product of Defoe's historical moment. As McKeon argues, early eighteenth-century theories of the family begin to pit the goals of affection against those of material wealth.[28] The pragmatism of Amy's willingness to sacrifice chastity for financial security makes it clear, however, that economic instrumentalism and personal affection may, for Defoe, have a more complicated relationship than either opposition or a balanced equilibrium. When Amy offers to "lye" with the Landlord in order to secure her mistress's financial security, Roxana acknowledges the offer in terms that confuse economic and emotional exchange: "That's a Token, *Amy*, of inimitable Kindness to me, *said I*, and I know how to value it; but there's more Friendship than Honesty in it, *Amy*."[29] As with the bad example of mistress and maid in *Religious Courtship*, the woman servant's excessive affection for her mistress is a "Token" of material value unregulated by "Honesty," the moral principle of the Christian home. Without this "Honesty," Amy's love for her mistress turns monstrously instrumental, with the maid's protection of the mistress's material interests taking her to the point of murdering the latter's child, a violence that only follows, however, from the earlier removal of Roxana's children out of her care and into the hazardous expedients of parish-keeping and apprenticeship.

Paradoxically, Amy's lethal service in her mistress's economic behalf is driven by selfless love. In a dark parody of the "good" servant who achieves financial security through monetary and emotional dependence on her employer, Amy initially sacrifices her own financial self-interest for the good of her mistress: "I must remember it here, to the Praise of this poor Girl, my Maid, that tho' I was not able to give her any Wages, and had told her so, nay I was not able to pay her the Wages that I was in Arrears to her, yet she would not leave me; nay, and as long as she had any Money, when I had none, she would help me out of her own; for which, tho' I acknowledg'd her Kindness and Fidelity, yet it was but a bad Coin that she was paid in at last, as will appear in its Place."[30] Amy's devotion leaves moral principles in the dust: "Dear Madam, says *Amy*, if I will starve for your sake, I will be a Whore, or any thing, for your sake; why I would die for you, if I were put to it." Roxana replies, "Why that's an Excess of Affection *Amy*, said I, I never met with before; I wish I may be ever in Condition to make you some Returns suitable."[31] Roxana also fulfills her end of the contractual bargain, as Amy, in pursuing her mistress's interests, becomes a "woman of business" in her own right. This lifelong relationship of economic and emotional interdependence is a nightmarish version of Haywood's and Hanway's idealized attachment between mistress and maid, in which the latter gives up her financial autonomy for the protection of the former, a state of affairs that turns out to be in the maid's self-interest.

McKeon notes Defoe's unique approach to conduct narratives as "an experiment in which variables and controls are established with empirical precision,"[32] and this method, apparent in *Religious Courtship*, might also be discerned in *The Fortunate Mistress*'s "what-if" explorations of the mistress-maid domestic partnership. Defoe's approach to social problems takes a mad-scientist turn in Roxana and Amy: the love, in Haywood and Hanway, that is supposed to soften and domesticate contractual relations assumes a horrific life of its own in Defoe's imaginative "experiment."

Amy's love for her mistress has an emotional component not fully accounted for by family affection or economic motives. Those moments in the novel when affective excess seems to explode out of cool financial self-interest provide both the most attractively compelling *and* the most repulsively violent views of the female domestic's relation to her mistress. For example, even the laconic Roxana seems moved by her servant's intimate celebration of her mistress's good luck: "*Amy* and I went to bed that night (for Amy lay with me) pretty early, but lay chatting almost all Night about it, and the Girl was so transported, that she got up two or three times in the Night, and danc'd about the Room in her Shift; in short, the Girl was half distracted with the Joy of it; a Testimony still of her violent Affection for her Mistress, in which no Servant ever went beyond her."[33] Roxana's depiction of Amy's "violent Affection" in this scene offers a rare moment of tenderness in her narrative. It suggests an emotional connection that attracts not only Roxana, but Defoe and his readers. This link is all the more compelling for its vague, undefined nature and its failure to conform to conduct literature's script of mentoring mistress and woman servant "in the posture of children." It is not the naturalized bond of mother and child, which Laura Rosenthal correctly sees as the emotional stumbling block on Roxana's path to pure economic success.[34] Rather, it is an undefined something else, completely in concert with the novel's trajectory of financial accumulation, an "excess" that overflows defined channels for human emotion, unnamed but compelling in its vagueness, an unspecified "Joy" played out in the intimacy between women.

Conversely, the relationship between Amy and Roxana also produces the novel's most disturbing moments of brutality: first, in the rape of Amy, and, later, in Amy's murder of Roxana's daughter, Susan. Not coincidentally, both acts of violence hinge on Roxana's maternity, and both cast Amy as Roxana's surrogate. Amy's rape is precipitated by her taunt that Roxana remains barren after a year and a half of sleeping with the Landlord: "Dear Madam, *says Amy*, what, a'nt you with-Child yet? No, *Amy, says I*, nor any Sign of it: Law, Madam, *says Amy*, what have you been doing? why you have been Marry'd a Year and a half, I warrant you,

Master wou'd have got me with-Child twice in that time: It may be so *Amy*, *says I*, let him try, can't you."[35] While Amy was willing enough to have sex with the Landlord in order to save her mistress from starvation, she refuses to sleep with him "now he's yours." Roxana's insistence in the face of Amy's reluctance escalates into physical force: "I sat her down, pull'd off her Stockings and Shoes, and all her Cloaths, Piece by Piece, and led her to the Bed to him: Here, says I, try what you can do with your Maid Amy: She pull'd back a little, would not let me pull off her Cloaths at first, but it was hot Weather, and she had not many Cloaths on, and particularly, no Stays on; and at last, when she see I was in earnest, she let me do what I wou'd; so I fairly stript her, and then I threw open the Bed, and thrust her in."[36] Roxana's expressed motive, "that my Maid should be a Whore too, and should not reproach me with it,"[37] goes only so far in explaining the mistress's sexual violence against the maid. Roxana's alleged concern over Amy's "reproach" has no grounds in the servant's doggedly loyal behavior; Roxana seems to need Amy to *be* her, to continue as her double. The label of whore breaks down the difference between maid and mistress, as the latter paradoxically uses her power to underscore her own loss of authority. Concurrently, the servant is no longer a child, but a sexual commodity like her mistress. Significantly, Roxana does not desist from coercing her servant into carnal relations with the Landlord until Amy is pregnant. After the initial rape, Roxana tells us how she works to overcome the Landlord's moral repulsion at an act of adultery—he "hated her so heartily" that he "could, I believe, have kill'd her after it"[38]—cajoling him to sleep with Amy until she finally conceives. Maternity is not about having a child, however, but about the terrible parity of mistress and maid. As soon as Amy is pregnant, Roxana follows suit. It is not too much to say that both women become pregnant out of the intensity of their feelings for each other; the Landlord is a biological incidental in their relationship, as are the children that result.

Like the Landlord and their many other lovers, Amy's and Roxana's children are, with one important exception, easily lost in the narrative flow. What remains consistent is the inexorable strength of the two women's partnership. The novel's plot of cumulative monetary gain more or less unrestrained by ethical and religious consciousness suggests, as many critics have shown, Defoe's fears about the acquisitive impulse in which the novel concurrently and contradictorily indulges. The affective bond between a mistress and her female servant is the wonderful and awful emotional core to the novel's story of financial success and moral ruin. As Rosenthal points out, Amy's and Roxana's relentless trajectory of accumulation is only derailed by the mistress's maternal passion for her lost and recovered daughter Susan.[39] Defoe pits the undefined but powerful attachment between

mistress and maid against the naturalized love of mother for child. The female domestic partnership that is the novel's most effective model for financial survival and stability is also its greatest threat to the safety and socio-economic stability of the family's children. Still, Defoe's narrator reflects a persistent ambivalence toward her collaborator-servant. Even if she is the middle-aged murderer of Roxana's biological daughter, Amy is also Roxana's "Girl," the "child" who unselfishly serves her mistress.[40]

When Susan, Roxana's abandoned child, resurfaces, tellingly, as her mother's domestic servant (yet another familial role confusion), Amy functions, as she does at other points in the narrative, as Roxana's surrogate in controlling the social and economic damage done by the latter's having forsaken her offspring, a role that protects her mistress from any emotional payback for leaving them. Unlike her siblings, Susan is unsatisfied with this purely financial commitment, and her desire for emotional connection to an unknown mother threatens to expose Roxana. Amy's agency instantaneously turns murderous at this threat, but what is also remarkable in this plot turn is the violence that immediately infuses Roxana's expressed emotion toward Amy. The precipitation and force with which Roxana earlier strips Amy and abets her rape returns in the form of the mistress's lethal intentions toward her maid. Just as Roxana's whoredom is followed by Amy's, and Roxana's pregnancy repeats Amy's after the latter's rape, Roxana's homicidal threats echo Amy's toward Susan.

> *Amy* was so provok'd, that she told me, *in short*, she began to think it wou'd be absolutely necessary to murther her: That Expression fill'd me with Horror; all my Blood ran chill in my Veins, and a Fit of trembling seiz'd me, that I cou'd not speak a good-while; at last, What is the Devil in you, *Amy*, *said I*? Nay, nay, *says she*, let it be the Devil, or not the Devil, if I thought she knew one tittle of your History, I wou'd dispatch her if she were my own Daughter a thousand times; and I, *says I in a Rage*, as well as I love you, wou'd be the first that shou'd put the Halter about your Neck, and see you hang'd, with more Satisfaction than ever I saw you in my Life; nay, *says I*, you wou'd not live to be hang'd, *I believe*, I shou'd cut your Throat with my own Hand; I am almost ready to do it, *said I*, as 'tis, for your but naming the thing; with that I call'd her cursed Devil, and bade her get out of the Room.[41]

But even as Roxana curses Amy, she reiterates her servant's extraordinary commitment to her: "I think it was the first time that ever I was angry with *Amy* in all my Life; and when all was done, tho' she was a devilish Jade in having such a Thought, yet it was all of it the Effect of her Excess of Affection and Fidelity to

me."[42] Roxana repeatedly couples rage at Amy's murderous intentions with an acknowledgement of the woman servant's love: "When Amy spoke of throwing her into the River, and drowning her, I was so provok'd at her, that all my Rage turn'd against Amy, and I fell thorowly out with her: I had now kept Amy almost thirty Year, and found her, on all Occasions, the faithfulest Creature to me, that ever Woman had; I say, faithful to me; for however wicked she was, still she was true to me; and even this Rage of hers was all upon my Account, and for fear any Mischief shou'd befal me."[43] The maidservant's love for her mistress turns into violence against the latter's child, Susan. In all its destructiveness, however, it remains the only stable human connection in Roxana's life, a monument to the horrible persistence of their female partnership.

Convinced that Amy has killed Susan to protect her mistress, Roxana gives way to solitary grief. As Rosenthal argues, Roxana's desire for her child is the only familial emotion that interrupts her cool and calculated career of materialist entrepreneurship.[44] Duplicitously but significantly, she explains her tears to her husband as the result of Amy's loss: "I seem'd to bring it out with Reluctance, *but told him*, My Backwardness was, more because I was asham'd that such a Trifle shou'd have any Effect upon me, than for any Weight that was in it: So I told him, I had been vexing myself about my Woman *Amy*'s not coming again; that she might have known me better, than not to believe I shou'd have been Friends with her again, *and the like*; and that, *in short*, I had lost the best Servant by my Rashness, that ever Woman had."[45] While it is a cover for Roxana's hidden motives, her desire for Amy's return still has an authenticity borne out by the subsequent narrative. Almost as an exhausted afterthought, Roxana tells us of meeting, approving, and arranging for the support of a second daughter through the agency of her "good Quaker," including a tentative plan for reunion—not of mother and daughter but of mistress and maid. While this child falls out of Roxana's story as quickly as she is paid off, Amy comes back to join Roxana in her final punishment. The narrative's conclusion seems to require Amy's return, which happens regardless of Roxana's moral horror at her crime.

> 'Tis enough to mention here, that as the settling this Affair made Way for my going on-board, notwithstanding the Absence of my old Agent *Amy*; so however, I left some Hints for *Amy* too, for I did not yet despair of my hearing from her; and that if my good Quaker shou'd ever see her again, she should let her see them; wherein particularly ordering her to leave the Affair of *Spittle-Fields* just as I had done, in the Hands of my Friend, she shou'd come away to me, upon this Condition nevertheless, that she gave full Satisfaction to my Friend the

> QUAKER, that she had not murther'd my Child; for if she had, *I told her*, I wou'd never see her Face more: How, notwithstanding this, she came over afterwards without giving my Friend any of that Satisfaction or any Account that she intended to come over.[46]

Amy's return, desired by Roxana, defies the moral conditions that the latter, rather belatedly, stipulates. The relationship between mistress and maid endures with a persistence that defeats any attempts to contain it within moral boundaries. Roxana's final punishment, the "dreadful Course of Calamities" that ends her flourishing career, demands an "Amy also" to share in the ruin of all that the mistress and her woman servant have built and accumulated.

Why does Defoe represent, as morally defiant and powerful to the very end, a relationship that much of the conduct literature seeks to formalize and regulate? Why, in Defoe's fiction, does this bond become the means, within the household, for linking illicit sexuality and brutality against children, who are the most helpless ones among those the family is supposed to protect? Amy and Roxana, together literally bring violence home, challenging the family's most prized, though often tragically ostensible role, the protection of their offspring. The fictional partnership that ends in a child's murder screams aloud the murmured fears in *Religious Courtship*, and speaks eloquently to pervasive concerns over the regulation and decorum of relations between female employers and their woman servants. In running a household, a partnership between women promised efficiency and order—the perpetuation of a domestic haven—but it also threatened an intimate, emotional connection that Defoe envisions as that haven's destruction. Most disturbingly, this bond between women, while perfectly in concert with—indeed, essential to—materialist productivity and accumulation, becomes, in Defoe's novel, a lightning rod for the horrors and fears surrounding the looming social problem of poor child apprentices in domestic service.

The themes of illicit sexuality and violence against children circulate through Defoe's imaginative explorations of the relationship between mistress and maid. Yet they are not exclusively the products of Defoe's paranoid genius, but reflect social anxieties not only about relations between domestic servants and their employers, but also about the treatment of impoverished children who made up a growing number of those servants in the mid-eighteenth century. The rest of this chapter takes up a historical instance of one mistress's violence against a young woman servant who could also be considered, in some times and places, a child. Popular press representations of Elizabeth Brownrigg's torture-murder of a sixteen-year-old apprentice girl, Mary Clifford, paint a horrific picture of the mistress-maid

relationship. Here, the joint motivations of household efficiency and financial gain result in perversely eroticized violence committed by a monstrous mistress against a childlike and helpless servant. While the savagery of Brownrigg against Mary Clifford is more brutally "real" than Roxana's violence against Amy and the mediated murder of her servant-daughter Susan, reading the two stories against each other yields a vivid picture of the relationship of the mistress and her woman servant as a threat to the family—and the ultimate displacement of this home-grown menace onto an image of feminine monstrosity and sexual perversion.

THE TRIAL OF ELIZABETH BROWNRIGG

In 1767, Elizabeth Brownrigg, the wife of a London house painter, a midwife, and the mistress of several pauper and charity-school girl apprentices, was tried and hung for the gruesome murder of Mary Clifford, one of the teenagers the parish placed with her as a servant. While not the only case of a mistress tried for fatal violence against her servants over the course of the century, Brownrigg's was apparently the most fertile for the popular press.[47] The trial caught the public's attention through lurid details of horrific abuse; Brownrigg became almost a by-word for feminine domestic cruelty, and Londoners stood in line to view her skeleton, which was put on public view after her anatomization.[48] The case of Elizabeth Brownrigg offered the perfect scapegoat for a social problem that was growing in public awareness, if not in actuality, during the 1760s: the abuse and neglect of pauper children by exploitative masters, who took them in because of coercion by parish officials or for a monetary reward. Brownrigg's tortured apprentices embodied a truth that was hard to bear. In at least some instances, servants "in the posture of children"—in this case, literally teenagers—who were theoretically the objects of domestic protection were, in fact, the object of abuse, neglect, and even fatal violence. Vis-à-vis Brownrigg, however, the sad outcome of a dysfunctional system of providing for the poor, especially pauper children, is reassuringly written as the result of an aberrant desire that confuses economic with sexual motives.

Reading renditions of the case in the popular press gives an insight into the social dimensions of Defoe's earlier, seemingly paranoid imaginings of familial violence resulting from the partnership of mistress and maid. In historical reality, children were often the victims of domestic abuse throughout the century, but public awareness of children apprenticed as domestic servants was heightened at midcentury by new philanthropic projects to care for impoverished and abandoned youth. Starting with the creation of Thomas Coram's Foundling Hospital in

the 1730s, public debates over how to educate and provide for children without families often focused on apprenticeship as a relatively cheap method of supporting these youngsters. Most frequently, very young male children and a majority of girls of all ages in foundling hospitals and charity schools, or those, like Roxana's children, who were "cast on the parish" by the poverty of their parents, were placed as domestic apprentices—essentially, as household servants. While any child in this system of apprenticeship as a sort of de facto foster care was subject to neglect and abuse, young people, especially girls, apprenticed as domestic servants were the least likely to learn a trade or really improve their situation. As Ruth McClure has documented, the neglect and abuse of such children was widely recognized, but apprenticeship was the method most favored by Parliament in its allocations to the Foundling Hospital in the late 1760s.[49] Among other arguments for apprenticeship, it was significantly cheaper for Parliament to pay a one-time, upfront fee than to provide for a child's entire dependency. Lower artisan and middle-class families also benefited by being able to employ servants more cheaply through this system than by hiring them on the market. Brownrigg's arrangement with her young female domestics made good economic sense, both from the angle of providing for these indigent youth and from the angle of the lower-class family who could raise its status and economic productivity by hiring cheap servants. Her crimes against those servants, however, graphically demonstrated how badly a financially advantageous plan for supporting poor children could go awry. But instead of exposing the flaws in the pauper and charity apprenticeship system, the popular press presented Elizabeth Brownrigg's treatment of Clifford as aberrant violence resulting from the mistress's perverse, sadistic relationship to her servant. Pamphlet literature on the Brownrigg case takes Defoe's mixed feelings about the partnership of mistress and maid a step further into nightmare. Its economic usefulness, quite apparent in *The Fortunate Mistress* and in arguments supporting the apprenticeship of pauper children, is buried in the language of repulsion, fear, and, ultimately, sexual perversion. The free interplay of financial and sexual motives that characterizes Roxana's story becomes unthinkable in the monstrosity that Brownrigg became in the public media.

The portrayal of Elizabeth Brownrigg's abuse of her teenaged female servants created a horrific image of the mistress's economic desperation, interlaced with a sadomasochistic eroticism. *An Appeal to Humanity, in an Account of the Life and Cruel Actions of Elizabeth Brownrigg* graphically displays Brownrigg's violence against her teenaged servants Mary Clifford, Mary Mitchell, and Mary Jones: "She frequently whipped [Clifford], first with a walking cane, at other times with a horse-whip, or postilion's whip, stripping her quite naked, tying her hands across

with a cord sometimes fixed to a water-pipe, and sometimes to a staple in a beam, in the kitchen under ground, striking her over all parts of her body and head, under pretense that she had not worked hard enough . . . the youngest [Mary Jones] was often treated with equal severity—being likewise stripped stark naked, and whipped till she was covered with wounds, and the strength of the inhuman savage was quite exhausted.—That, after such whippings, she fastened their leather bodices upon them, which cleaving to their torn lacerated flesh, eat into and festered their wounds."[50] The treatment of the girls' young bodies involves obvious excessiveness and gratuitous nudity—completely stripping the apprentices is not necessary to flog them, but it is significant in itself as part of the victims' degradation. Furthermore, there is something that a post-Freudian would call fetishistic about Brownrigg's personal attention to the leather bodices fastened directly over bleeding flesh. Brownrigg is not simply trying to make her apprentices work harder—that motive is explicitly acknowledged as a "pretense"—since her pleasure in the spectacle of the naked, torn bodies of these young girls is part of the crime. The shock of these descriptions lies in their fusion of violence with pleasure. Brownrigg is portrayed as the demonic counterpart of the ideal mistress, the maternal but firm disciplinarian. Representations of her abusive behavior displace the banal economic motives that might have been all-too-close to home for readers with an excessive, even perverse affect that cannot be accounted for by those motives.

The historian Patty Seleski is one modern reader of the Brownrigg case who does not miss its significance in understanding financial relations between servants and their employers, and she correctly identifies many of the economic and material conditions of pauper and charity children's apprenticeships in London at midcentury that underlaid the issues in this trial.[51] Women domestic managers were the cornerstone of the artisan and lower merchant classes, and Brownrigg, she argues, summed up the terrible pressures upon them. The labor of servants cheaply procured through pauper apprenticeship was often what kept them and their families only slightly above the ranks of the poor. Yet extracting as much work as possible from these domestics was a motive that did not always mix well with the role of the mistress as the servant's mentor or, in the case of young apprentices, surrogate mother. Seleski thus propounds the ideological importance of Brownrigg as a demonized other to petty bourgeois, domestic femininity. Part of Brownrigg's effectiveness as a scapegoat is that popular representations of her draw on the familiarity of her situation as a domestic manager from the lower artisan class. Yet Brownrigg's crimes had to be sensationalized as unspeakable horrors in order to strengthen—by opposition—this all-important role for other women from this

class. The banality of Brownrigg's abuse of her servants is, I would argue, made strange or defamiliarized by its excessive, sensational nature. Simple, familiar economic motives take on the *frisson* of the incomprehensible, the monstrous, and, ultimately, the sexually perverse.

The accounts of Brownrigg's abuse of her servants repeatedly link the latter's nudity and physical suffering with the mistress's desire to satisfy her inexplicable urges, thus downplaying the economic and social contexts that Seleski identifies and creating a scenario of individual deviance.

> On the 31st of July, this monster of cruelty obliged the eldest apprentice, who is since dead, to strip herself naked, and then tied her up to the staple in the beam, and scourged her six times successively with a whalebone riding whip, on several parts of her body; and with the butt-end divers times about the head, the blood gushing from that, and other parts of her body.—The unhappy girl continued bleeding from that time till the 4th of August, when a discovery of this horrid scene being made, she was conveyed to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, no dressings having been applied to her wounds.—The terrible miscreant, after having satiated her eyes with beholding the poor girl in the most agonizing and excruciating torture, after having scourged her six times, till the blood ran in streams from every part of her body, and till her own strength was unequal to the cruel purposes of her savage heart, had the farther inhumanity to throw three pails of cold water upon the naked, bleeding, and tormented sufferer.[52]

Brownrigg feasts her eyes on the spectacle of her tortured apprentice, yet continues to be driven by indefinable motives, the "cruel purposes" of a "savage heart" whose desires exceed even its human owner's bodily strength. The *Genuine and Authentic Account of the Life, Trial, and Execution, of Elizabeth Brownrigg* (1767) states that Brownrigg "laid two Chairs on the Floor, in such a Form, that one supported the other; then she and her Husband fastened the Girl [Mary Jones, the younger apprentice] upon the Backs of those Chairs, sometimes naked; but if she had her Cloaths on, her Mistress pulled them over her Head, and whipped her till she had tired herself."[53] Brownrigg's need to extract labor from the girls is buried in the imagery of flagellation.[54] The desire to inflict pain is portrayed as individually perverse, rather than as the result of a flawed social and economic system. A comparison to similar scenes of whipped and abused slaves from eighteenth-century abolitionist literature clarifies this point. While slave-owners are also depicted as tireless monsters in punishing their human property, their monstrosity is figured as the effect of a whole system of chattel slavery, not as individual deviance. Abolitionist literature stresses the corrupting effects of the

system on "normal" people, while, on the other hand, Brownrigg's monstrosity, through its inexplicable excessiveness, shields the economic system of pauper apprenticeship from critique, even as it calls attention to its victims.

Brownrigg is "a monster of her species, of her sex, of her profession."[55] As Seleski notes, the very name "Brownrigg" became a byword for unnatural cruelty up through the nineteenth century. Her monstrosity is understood specifically in terms of its opposition to normative gender, sexuality, and reproduction. Brownrigg's most obvious transgression against gender roles was framed as a crime against maternity: "a wretch, who instead of acting the part of a mother to these destitute children, could, with a heart steeled against every tender and human sentiment, rack her invention for means to torture and torment them."[56] Popular accounts also dwell on the jarring contrast between Brownrigg's atrocities and what was expected behavior in her roles as a wife and a mother, particularly in relation to her son John, the other family member most seriously implicated in the murder. Initially, Brownrigg's husband and son, as well as she, were charged with Clifford's murder. The two popular narratives that emerged immediately after the trial, however, cast the primary blame on Brownrigg by constructing her marriage as a petticoat government, a gendered world-upside-down. Brownrigg "contradicted and abused her husband, who being a man of a mild disposition, was inclined to procure peace at home upon any conditions, however dishonourable or prejudicial to himself."[57] When her husband hears of Clifford's death, he "wept bitterly; and a tradesman, an acquaintance, asking him if he was guilty, he declared he was not; that he knew indeed that his wife maltreated the girls; but that he never durst contradict her in any thing she did."[58] Fittingly, one of the rumors around Brownrigg's attempted escape, after the discovery of Mary Clifford's abuse, has her disguised in men's clothing.[59] More surprisingly, at least one account also hints at Brownrigg's incestuous relations with her son, John, who was held to be complicit in the apprentice's torture, and who attempted to escape with his mother: "On the Tuesday preceding, they took a lodging at the above chandler's-shop, and passed as man and wife, cohabiting together, and lying in the same bed.—They kept very close in the room, which occasioned various conjectures."[60] Brownrigg's inversion of gender expectations in the domestic sphere blurs into tabooed sexuality, contributing to the overall picture of individual deviance that made her such an ideal scapegoat.

Although John Brownrigg was finally acquitted of the murder charge, he is consistently seen as his mother's partner in crime. *An Appeal to Humanity* exonerates Brownrigg's husband and younger son by suggesting that they tried to surreptitiously help the apprentices, in contrast to John, who is portrayed as his mother's favorite and assistant in the abuse: "the said John came into the cellar just after his

mother had been horse-whipping the deceased, who was then naked, when the former (the mother) told him, that though she had beaten the girl severely, she could not make her do any thing, and bid him whip her; whereupon he gave the deceased about twenty cuts with the lash of the whip; after which, the mother and son went away, leaving the poor creature naked, and bathed in her blood."[61] The alliance between mother and son goes beyond a purely utilitarian desire to extract more labor. John Brownrigg is charged with a misdemeanor for "beating the surviving girl, apprentice to his father; when it appeared, on the oath of the girl, that he had whipped her naked three successive days with a horse-whip; twice by the order of his mother, and the third time of his own accord . . . and that he afterwards drove her up stairs naked and bleeding to shew his mother what he had done."[62] The son's show-and-tell of the naked, bleeding girl suggests a gratification, shared between mother and son, that goes beyond satisfaction in a job well done.

The result is not sexual deviance, as it would be understood later in the nineteenth century. I am not claiming that incest, sexual pleasure in flagellation,[63] or same-sex eroticism were being explicitly represented in terms that "make sense" in today's lexicon of sexual deviance. Nonetheless, the pamphlet literature on Brownrigg and her son reflects a mode of imaging and narrating that associates a lower-middle-class woman's violence against servant-class children with forms of pleasure and desire that contribute, by their very excessiveness, to the formation of normative boundaries on gendered and sexual behavior. This depiction of Brownrigg's crime looks ahead to nineteenth-century categories of fetishism and sadomasochism, while marshalling the already-well-established taboo against incest and the tradition of flagellation, but it is most historically comprehensible when looked at in terms of the class politics of pauper apprenticeship and "the servant problem" in the mid-eighteenth century. The political context of debates and concerns over the treatment of foundlings and pauper children, especially girls who were taken into domestic service as apprentices, constitutes a site of cultural anxiety that "needs" a monster like Brownrigg to make the problem of suffering children both visible and bearable. Instead of forcing readers to see violence against the young and vulnerable as endemic to the British system of "caring" for a large number of indigent youth through the misuse of a system that was originally meant for the training of a relatively small number of artisans, popular representations of Brownrigg allow them to see such cruelty as the work of an ambiguously gendered and sexually perverse monster.

The language of gendered and sexual deviation that makes one shudder at Brownrigg's crimes arises from a public controversy concerning familial relations

that were defined by labor as much as by love. Brownrigg's trial and the concurrent print circulation of her crimes were part of an intense period of controversy over how to provide for poor and abandoned children. The center of this controversy was the London Foundling Hospital, begun by Thomas Coram in 1739, from which Mary Jones was apprenticed to Elizabeth Brownrigg in 1765. The most obvious objection to the Foundling Hospital was the allegation that it gave impoverished children an education more suitable for their "betters" and would not prepare them to enter the ranks of the laboring poor. But this objection had its roots in familial as well as social relations. Between 1759 and 1767, numerous pamphlets challenge the Foundling Hospital's project of institutionally raising and educating abandoned infants on grounds that are not dissimilar to modern anxieties over "the breakdown of the family." Joseph Massie's 1759 pamphlet argues that without parents, the foundlings would grow up to be "a set of people independent, whose breasts have never felt the filial or fraternal affection so useful to soften the heart, and humanize the brutish passions."[64] Jonas Hanway, who was a governor of the Hospital, echoes Massie's concern that the children might lack that "filial piety [which] leads to obedience to the laws of God, and supports that chain of subordination by which society is linked together."[65] Institutional resolutions of the problem of poor, abandoned children contradicted the philanthropists' investment in family as the affective vector for social order. In the 1760s, the "solution" to this problem turned back to the family as the cultural site of both labor and love. By 1765, early apprenticeship had emerged as the most common, if highly problematic answer to the question of what to do with poor children without ideologically threatening the social and domestic hierarchy. In 1765, the House of Commons appointed a committee on the Foundling Hospital and passed the following resolutions: it condemned "the education of foundling children by the Hospital for its tendency to make them unfit for useful and laborious employment"; it also recommended that "the Hospital should apprentice its children 'with all Convenient Speed' at age seven or earlier."[66] While Hanway supported early apprenticeship as a kind of foster care, other governors worried that the children would not be fit for service and that, especially, "small girls were, similarly, unequal to the laborious household service that families with no other servants would expect, and these were the households that most often took the girls."[67] (That year the Brownrigg family took home Mary Jones.) In 1767, Commons ignored "the Governor's estimate that the cost of maintaining the children for 1767 would amount to £31,387 10s." and "reduced its grant to £28,000, but added a special allowance of £1500 to pay apprenticeship fees."[68] "Each year thereafter," McClure reports, "the Commons followed the same course: a pen-

urious grant to maintenance of the children accompanied by an increasingly larger grant to be used only for payment of apprentice fees."[69] Nearly all of the girls, McClure reports, went out as domestic servants.[70] The effects of the Commons' actions were immediate and dramatic. The number of apprenticed charity children from the hospital increased from 93 in 1764 to 253 in 1765; it spiked again in 1767 to 479, and by 1769 it reached a high of 1,430.[71]

That the apprenticeship of children aged seven or younger was not altogether the perfect resolution to the problem of indigent infants and youth was soon apparent. Martin Brown, a clothier, received some public attention in 1765 when 22 of the 74 children bound to him died. McClure also documents a number of brutalized and sexually assaulted children apprenticed from the hospital between 1770 and 1771.[72] The abuse of charity children was more likely to create a public stir than that of paupers. As Joan Lane says, "charity apprentices took with them a reasonable premium and had often been prepared for apprenticeship by a charity school education, so that they were both literate and used to discipline . . . The master also must have welcomed such an apprentice, with an adequate premium, often with clothes provided by the trustees, a child from the community whose background he knew."[73] While the stigma of illegitimacy certainly lowered the status of the London Hospital foundlings, they were, unlike paupers, children with culturally legitimated claims to protection. Mary Jones was listened to and protected by the hospital's governors. The murder of Mary Clifford, a parish child who had no such protection, must have gained some further notoriety by association with Jones' abuse, as the latter is frequently cited, along with the torture of Clifford, as evidence of Brownrigg's atrocities.

In any case, it seems likely that the cultural construction of Brownrigg's tortured apprentices is informed by key terms of the debate over the Foundling Hospital at midcentury: domestic apprenticeship, the education of children, and the moral and social importance of the household's hierarchy. The question of what to do with poor children was entangled with beliefs about the proper structure and function of the family and, implicitly, the mentoring role of the mistress to her servants. Furthermore, the already sexualized bodies of servant girls offered a culturally logical venue for articulating anxieties over the effectiveness of domestic apprenticeship as a private solution to a very public problem. Elizabeth Brownrigg, the monstrous mother and mistress, allowed the popular press to consolidate and make visible fears for the sufferings of children that swept, in less manageable form, through public discussions of the Foundling Hospital. Her alleged pleasure in the tortured bodies of young girls helped to displace the responsibility for tormented young apprentices onto individual moral turpitude, distancing it from

"the existence of enormous economic and social need" signaled by the flood of infants into Coram's hospital at midcentury.[74]

The enormity of Brownrigg's misdeeds also crystallized widely circulating anxieties, going back at least as far as Defoe, about the potential intimacy between mistresses and woman servants engaged in the teamwork of household management. Pamphlet literature about Brownrigg made it possible for readers to perceive the dangerous potential of a close relationship forged in the imperative of materialist accumulation as an abject and hateful perversion. The differences between Roxana and Elizabeth Brownrigg are as important as their similarities. Brownrigg's cruelty makes it impossible to identify with her and enter into the feelings of economic desperation that may have played at least some part in motivating her crimes. Defoe's Roxana is a different matter. All too human and all too easy to identify with, the fictional mistress of 1724 brings out the ties between feminine domestic authority placed under unendurable economic pressure and its murderous outcomes. While her economically motivated transgressions lead to violence against the servant-child figure embodied in Susan, just as surely as Brownrigg's need to extract more labor leads to her apprentice's torture-murder, it is not so easy to reject the earlier mistress as a monster. The unfortunate and the wicked are, Defoe suspects, all too permeable. Brownrigg's case, conversely, closes a door between economic motivation and violence against children with a satisfying slam. Financial misfortune cannot account for the enormity of this mistress's crimes; only an anomalous form of pleasure can explain her actions. The relationship between mistress and maid in both novel and criminal scandal is a vector for imagining women's sexuality. Like Pamela and Elizabeth Canning, and Roxana and Amy, Elizabeth Brownrigg and Mary Clifford help us to understand just how important the vexed relations between master and maid, and mistress and maid, are to the formation of present-day concepts of feminine sexuality and the child's allegedly protected position within the modern family.

Defoe was wise enough to intuit the potentially powerful intimacy that could grow between women partnering in a culture that favors materialist accumulation. Popular responses to Elizabeth Brownrigg's crime suggest emergent strategies for suppressing and containing the force of that bond through the language of gendered and sexual deviance. The *Pamela*/anti-*Pamela* and Canning debates in the second quarter of the eighteenth century made the heterosexuality of the woman servant a problem for interpretation, helping to prepare the ground for the later question, What does woman want? Roxana and Amy, right at the end of the century's first quarter, model possible answers that do not so much break with heterosexuality as render it irrelevant, or at least a side issue. In Defoe's narrative,

what women want is each other. In the early years of the century's second half, Elizabeth Brownrigg's cruelty offered an occasion to support a language of sexual aberration that would become important to modern strategies of pathologizing the intimacy between women that was so fascinating and so fearful to Defoe.

While the representation of the family is crucial in these early manifestations of modern sexual ideologies of feminine desire and deviance, in its historical specificity the eighteenth-century British family does not support a separation of individual sexual and gender identity from the social and political dimensions of master-servant ties and, more broadly, relations between the poor and the upper classes. The questions of who women are and what they want are formed in the context of "family" relationships that include labor roles and class identities as surely as kinship structures—let alone the oedipal family—as we understand them. Much of the story that the Brownrigg case tells about these relationships, however, indicates an on-going struggle to separate social from domestic elements, to individualize aberrations, to keep desire and violence between masters and servants in the family, as a matter for individual or, at best, domestic, not political action. Moreover, parts of this story reveal the ways in which the master-servant relationship frequently violates its private demarcations within the household, pointing to social conflicts even as it seeks affective personal resolutions. One of the most compelling messages—sent by the larger narrative about masters, mistresses, and women servants that was comprised of literature on "the servant problem," the debates over Pamela, Defoe's novel of female domestic partnership, and the Brownrigg case—is that sexuality is as much the business of social, political life as of the family and the domestic sphere. The rest of this study bears out the inseparability of the public and the private in the formation of modern sexuality. It focuses on masculine sexualities as they play out in public political debates over menservants, as well as in fictional texts that imagine intimate relations between masters and their male retainers. If the nineteenth-century psychology of woman has at least some roots in relations between the female servant and, respectively, her master and mistress, how does the male servant's relationships with his employers figure in the historical emergence of modern masculinities?

CHAPTER FIVE

Performing the Manservant, 1730 to 1760

If the conundrum of women servants' sexuality offers new insight into the formation of modern theories of gender and sexuality, men servants play a different but equally important role in the affective and instrumental family from which those theories draw. And as in the case of female domestics, the sexuality of British male servants in the eighteenth century has not been seriously analyzed as part of the history of emerging, modern identities of sexuality, gender, and class, and of the family as formative of those identities. Covert affairs between male retainers and mistresses are so well-worn a cliché of popular literature since the eighteenth century that they tend to disappear into the cultural woodwork, and the often close partnership imagined between master and man in dozens of novels and plays has not entered the excellent scholarship by recent theorists of queer masculinity, most notably George Haggerty and Thomas A. King, who have done much to historicize our modern understandings of gender and sexuality with cultural and literary evidence of male-male eroticism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[1] Haggerty argues that love between men is crucial for homosocial bonding, the affective "glue" that holds society together. King brings class difference into the analysis of homosociality, arguing for a historical shift from a normative homoerotic desire between men of different social ranks to a "phallic" masculinity based on male bonding and the heterosexual domination of women, a social order that displaces difference and homoeroticism onto the body of the queer man. Interjecting the manservant into these historical narratives illuminates how public-sphere homosociality is anchored in private relations between men within the household. As surely as the modern bourgeois order needs "the domestic woman," it also needs a construct of domestic manhood, as Shawn

Maurer has pointed out,[2] and the male retainer is a vital part of that construct's historical formation.

Within the context of the history of the family, modern sexuality, and gender roles, the next two chapters of this study take relationships between menservants and masters as seriously as we take "the domestic woman,"[3] "companionate marriage"[4] or the emergence of modern childhood.[5] Footmen, valets, and butlers play a wide variety of roles in the drama and fiction of the period, and it is not the pretension of these chapters to cover the broad topic of their depiction in literature, let alone the visual arts. This chapter instead sets a new direction for study by focusing on a relatively obscure "moment" in the cultural history of English servants: the London theater at a particularly critical, midcentury point of struggle over menservants' rights to traditional prerogatives that fall outside the increasingly narrow definition of wage labor that emerges during this era. Robert Malcolmson has pointed out how the working poor's claims to "freedom" were gradually stripped away during the eighteenth century, a process that left workers with only the " 'freedom' to see their labor, a kind of property, on the open market for whatever price they could get."[6] A gendered masculinity that rationalized and supported this diminishment of social and economic agency emerges in the performative space of the theater, and ripples outward into larger discussions of servants' prerogatives. While the present chapter privileges theatrical performance as the formal means by which this masculinity emerges, the chapter that follows analyzes the impression this public struggle had in the eighteenth-century novel's depictions of menservants' sexuality and their relationships with their masters. Unlike the literary conundrum of the woman servant's desires, the literature on male servants insists on the transparency of their desire; it is not a puzzle to be solved, but a naturalized attribute of gender upon which the management of social differences between men depends. The novel's insistence on a "natural" male desire shared across class lines is only one development in a long history of struggles between menservants and their masters over public space, personal property, and money in the eighteenth century. This history brings to light the violent conflict out of which a manliness shared by masters and their menservants is born.

My analysis of footmen in the London theater at midcentury draws from performance theory, as developed by critics such as Joseph Roach.[7] It stresses the social formation of masculine gender and sexuality through repeated, publicly visible behaviors in the theater, ones that resonate with changing power relations that were more broadly played out in society. These repetitive forms of conduct contribute to an understanding of hetero-normative desire as the salient charac-

teristic of manliness.[8] The performances of masculinity studied in this chapter occur both on the London stage—in the dramatic characters of footmen—and in the theater audience's sometimes violent contention between these servants and their "betters." Traces of the masculinities associated with menservants in newspapers and pamphlet literature about these struggles can also be read in a small number of fairly obscure short plays, or afterpieces, featuring footmen as heroes. Written and first performed in the 1730s and 1740s, these theatrical works make strong claims for the manservant's heterosexual magnetism as the basis of his inclusion in a trans-class ideal of virility and manly authority. This theatrical sexy footman forms part of a modern version of masculine sexuality that depends more on gender than on class difference, and more on a universal, naturalized heterosexual male desire than on the homoeroticism embedded in hierarchical relations between men.

"Performance" in this study, then, is grounded in the specific space of the theater, which, however, cannot be isolated from other discourses that speak to other spaces, most notably the household. The fight over menservants' "prerogatives" in the theater is not an isolated struggle, and I situate it in the widespread "culture wars" over servants' vails, the tips that traditionally constituted a significant part of remuneration for domestic work. As Michael McKeon notes, the public sphere initially theorized by Jürgen Habermas is both an abstraction and a collection of concrete places in historical time.[9] The Footman's Gallery in Drury Lane Theatre is an especially important place in both the organization of a modern public sphere and the masculine identities associated with it. The decades of 1730 to 1760 in English theater history are not so much, then, the origin of a model of manliness that transcends class lines as a moment of crystallization, a point at which social circumstances and the possibilities for imagining menservants' sexuality formed the conditions that produced a highly visible, repeatable pattern of hetero-normative masculinity, one that interpolates servants even as it rationalizes the diminution of their material power. This modern model of trans-class virility and male authority is not the only way in which menservants were imagined on the midcentury stage, but it assumed an important performative life both on and off the stage as part of a public struggle that had deeply private and individual implications for British masculinity. The story of the Footman's Gallery is an essential part of a larger history of curtailing menservants' traditional claims to public voice and financial leverage through a "progressive" model of manliness based less on class than on a universal mastery over women. Far from being "liberating," the performance of a trans-class masculinity instead helped to diminish male retainers' claims to more material forms of power. The gender- rather

than class-based masculinity that emerges during this period, with its double movement of inclusion and subordination, is important to the growth of a shared moral and aesthetic culture between servants and employers (see chapter 2). The naturalization of menservants' masculinity entailed violent struggles and shifts in power between men, as well as an incorporation into the dominant pattern of manliness.

THE FOOTMEN'S RIOTS OF 1737

During the first half of the eighteenth century, the Footman's Gallery in Drury Lane Theatre was the focus for public opinion on the presence and behavior of domestic servants in urban places of leisure and entertainment. From the Restoration on, footmen, sent early to the theater to hold places for their masters, had free access to the upper gallery after the performance of the fourth act. In 1696, that access was extended to the whole performance, and London footmen took full advantage of this free entertainment, making Drury Lane Theatre a place where one could encounter one of the largest, most highly visible, and vocal groups of footmen in the city. Between 1696 and 1759, complaints about the rowdy behavior of these liveried servants occasionally led to shoving and shouting matches between them and other audience members. These confrontations reached the level of full-scale riots in the late 1730s, culminating in the arrests of several footmen and the temporary closing of the gallery under armed guard. Footmen were too used to claiming their own space in the theater, however, and the gallery almost immediately re-opened. The Footman's Gallery remained a problematic institution in Drury Lane until David Garrick goaded its occupants into violence at the height of the vails crisis, a critical moment of public feeling against servants, giving him an excuse to abolish the gallery in 1759.

According to Colley Cibber, Christopher Rich opened the gallery to footmen for the whole duration of the play during a period of intense competition between London theaters, in order to curry favor with their aristocratic employers: "This riotous Privilege, so craftily given, and which from Custom, was at last ripen'd into Right, became the most disgraceful Nusance, that ever depreciated the Theatre. How often have the most polite Audiences, in the most affecting Scenes of the best Plays, been disturb'd and insulted, by the Noise and Clamour of these savage Spectators?"[10] This "Privilege," granted because of the footmen's association with "People of Quality," was taken up by menservants as a "Right" that, over the course of sixty-some-odd years, was noisily asserted by the footmen and resented by other audience members, with physical and verbal aggression on both sides.

The liveried servants' "Right" was uneasily situated between two opposing ways of thinking about their use of public space: the claim to "place" through an extension of aristocratic prerogatives, on the one hand, and the claim to individual "right" on the other. As London's places of leisure and amusement were opened to broader spectrums of consumers over the course of the century, the already quite heterogeneous theater audience reflected both a generally increasing tolerance for liveried servants' "right" to such public spaces, and annoyance over their assertion of "aristocratic" privilege.

The struggle over the Footman's Gallery flared into exceptional violence in the second quarter of the century, probably drawing energy from its association with broader social unrest. Vincent J. Liesenfeld argues that the 1737 footmen riots should be understood in the context of civil disorders in 1736–37 that seemed to threaten the government's stability. He also reads the Licensing Act that followed in the spring of 1737 as addressing "the general spirit of insurrection it believed pervaded the nation," insurrection of which the Gallery riots were a part.[11] The theater was a lightning rod for a general disapproval of lower-class behaviors that were not seen as productive and industrious, as Sir John Barnard argued in his 1735 bill to limit the number of playhouses in London because of "the Mischief done to the City of London by the Play-Houses, in corrupting the Youth, encouraging Vice and Debauchery, and being prejudicial to Trade and Industry."[12] (Samuel Richardson's 1732 disapproval of apprentices going to the theater is noted in chapter 2 of this study.) The footmen's disorderly behavior in "their" gallery aggravated such anti-theatrical attitudes. It also hit a sore point defined in "the servant problem" literature, the generally poor public conduct and allegedly nonexistent work ethic of men in livery.

Footmen, even apart from their disruptive role in the theater, drew fire for their supposedly less-than-industrious existence. Chapter 2 also includes Eliza Haywood's views on liveried servants: "As these Fellows live high, and have little to do, they are for the most Part very pert and saucy where they dare, and apt to take liberties on the least Encouragement."[13] Many writers, however, blame the laziness and bad behavior of these servants on aristocratic decadence and waste, not on the footmen themselves. A 1743 writer in the *Champion*, for example, laments, "when I see four or five able Fellows swinging behind a gilt Chariot, and reflect, that they have no other Business to do than what, perhaps, might be better undone; that they are . . . of so little Use to Society that in Course of their whole Lives not one of them adds a Shilling to the publick Stock, I am grieved to see Englishmen in such a situation."[14] In general, their obtrusive presence in public spaces of urban amusement was rather dimly viewed as an outgrowth of aristo-

cratic "luxury," a sign of corrupt, materialist times. As the *Champion* writer suggests, however, the footman himself has a more ambivalent image. On the one hand, no one approved of liveried servants' often rude and insubordinate behavior in public, and many feared its potential for escalating into riot. On the other, they were seen as having certain claims to respect within the public realm. Footmen, however idle, are "Englishmen," potentially productive members of society, and therefore distinct from other European servants, a concept of which many British writers at the time were not only acutely aware, but curiously proud.

If menservants' claims to space in the theater originated in the aristocratic prerogatives of their masters, the status of the footman as "Englishman" also found purchase in the emergent ideal of an individual's claim to equal justice. The legal protection of servants' rights was seen as a distinguishing feature of English national identity. *The Laws Relating to Masters and Servants*, a frequently reprinted pamphlet, proudly declaims, "the Commonality are upon the same Footing, as to Liberty and Property, as the Gentry; and Servants of the lowest Class, being under the protection of the Laws, if mal-treated, have the same Remedy and Redress as their Masters."[15] Footmen participated, albeit as subordinates, in British social order on the level of law and, as was seen in chapter 2, in the moral and aesthetic culture of the British family. The footman-turned-publisher Robert Dodsley argues:

> With what Humanity then ought a Master to treat that Man whom Fortune has subjected to be his Servant? . . . Always remembring that though he is advanc'd never so far above him by Fortune, he is yet nearly related to him by Nature; and that had it not been for some accidental Circumstances, he might perhaps have been in his Condition.
>
> These Reflections would naturally tend to abate the Harshness and Severity with which some Gentlemen treat their Servants. In this Cast of Mind they would sometimes be led to regard them as Men, endued with the same Faculties, Passions, Appetites, and Desires, with themselves; and not as Slaves or Beasts of Burthen, cut out merely for Servitude, and incapable of any Thing in the World, but to know what they are commanded, and how to obey.[16]

Dodsley expresses the sense of a naturalized masculinity, complete with "Faculties, Passions, Appetites, and Desires," shared by master and man. However subordinate, male servants called for some recognition as men, not as "Slaves or Beasts."

It was one thing, however, to theorize the manservant as an Englishman, with all the respect implied by that title, and quite another to deal with crowds of deliberately insolent footmen on the Mall and in the theater. As shall be seen from

the ambivalent responses to the footmen's proprietary actions toward their gallery, London theater audiences were not quick to resolve this contradiction between the liveried servant's claims to his rights as an Englishman and poor behavior sheltered by a highly suspect aristocratic privilege. The sixty-three-year tumultuous history of the Footman's Gallery shows one facet of a historical process by which individual rights were increasingly associated with the buying and selling of wage labor and, concurrently, separated from the traditional prerogatives that bound master and man in a relationship of material and emotional obligation. The Gallery's history is evidence of the conflict and even violence of making that separation.

While the servant's egalitarian right under the law was more theoretical than actual, a respect for menservants' rights in general seems to have influenced attitudes toward their public presence. As Leo Hughes notes, the Comédie Française did not tolerate bad behavior from servants waiting for their employers: "The state intervened, and lackeys were banned . . . In England such intervention would have seemed impolitic, not to say tyrannical."[17] Indeed, the Footman's Gallery was apparently tolerated as an unpleasant byproduct of English liberty. A 1728 *Touchstone* article comments: "Our Servants (because not Slaves) are suffer'd to disturb at Will our politest Amusements: At an immense Sum we support these Entertainments, and they are allow'd gratis to put the Negative upon our hearing them: The Bread they eat, the Cloaths they wear are ours: yet, with one in their Belly, and the other on their Back, their Rudeness dare stand betwixt Us and our Pleasures; and the meanest Footman unpunished, fly in the Face of the Whole Court . . . No such Liberties or Insolencies would be tolerated in any Part of the Globe, but Great Britain."[18] On the one hand, the behavior of the Drury Lane footmen was an offence to their superiors; on the other, it was a source of pride in an English social system that did not countenance treating servants like "slaves." The idea of a British public sphere with some egalitarian underpinnings protected these servants, who were also concurrently sheltered from overt prosecution as an extension of aristocratic privilege. Increasingly, however, the footmen's "Liberties" in the theater took on a dangerous life of their own, independent of—even in contradiction to—the economic exchange of labor for wages that clothed and fed the servant. As the critique of aristocratic "luxury" gained force, the more traditional, class-based hierarchy of privilege that had protected the footmen in the Gallery's early years also began to lose its force.

What began, then, purely as an extension of aristocratic prerogatives turned into a means by which footmen could claim a place and a voice in urban leisure activities,[19] a claim that resonated with an egalitarian public-sphere ideology even

as it clashed with general concerns over the visibility and agency of the male servants employed by the aristocracy and landed gentry while resident in London. The presence and voices of footmen in the metropolis were common objects of complaint by conservative polemicists on "the servant problem,"[20] who worried about how servants in London were spending their free time. London footmen were the objects of the most intense expressions of anxiety, in part because their leisure was, in a sense, part of their job. As J. Jean Hecht notes, aristocratic status was signalled in the opulent spectacle of richly liveried footmen standing around not doing very much. The brawnier the footman and the richer his livery, the more his allegedly idle existence signified his master's economic and social power.[21] The bodies and voices of footmen taking up space at fashionable London places of amusement suggested to many, however, not only aristocratic luxury, but a public presence, even a power, that was subversive of class hierarchy and general order. A 1732 article entitled "Footmen a Nusance" makes this complaint: "Every Body, not of the highest Distinction, must be sensible of the Insolencies of these pamper'd Hirelings. At *St. James*, or by the *Mall-side*, no body escapes their dirty Jokes, and saucy Ridicule; their Pertness is under no Restraint; they sneer you full in the Face, give the Word for a *Roast*, and by that Time you are got to the last of 'em, the whole *Gang* is in a Laugh."[22]

The footmen in the Drury Lane gallery, in particular, were often written about as nuisances to other audience members, but they were also, obviously, feared. The *Gentleman's Magazine* reports in 1732 on the obnoxious behavior of wise-cracking, snuff-taking footmen sent to hold their masters' traditional places in the "Boxes," but annoyance could turn to trepidation when these retainers assumed "their" place in the upper gallery: "After the Play is begun, we have often seen the noblest parts of it interrupted by their *Bear-Garden Quarrels* in the *Upper Gallery*. For these Reasons they ought to be banish'd out of the *Playhouse* for ever. But perhaps this may be dangerous, considering they lately *rioted* an *Assembly* they could not be admitted to, and opposed the *Guards* that were plac'd for the Safety of their Masters."[23] Footmen had a powerful public presence that was despised, feared, and, in some ways, respected. Nonetheless, their behavior is increasingly seen as insolence rather than as a tolerable extension of aristocratic privilege. The image of the liveried servant that emerges from such printed comments separates him from a resentful audience that upholds, in contrast, a standard of polite behavior. Drury Lane footmen were a highly visible, collective other to what was coming to be considered proper public behavior, but they were also seen as too powerful a presence to be dismissed, either figuratively or literally. The struggle over the Footman's Gallery suggests the gradual erosion of the empowerment of

liveried servants through their relations with their male superiors and the increasing demand on them to "act like men," conceived in terms of the emerging dominant model for public decorum.[24]

However, the footmen in the Drury Lane gallery continued to behave like, well, footmen, and other members of the audience finally reacted with physical force. It is highly probable (as discussed later in this chapter) that intolerance for the footmen's behavior was fuelled by growing impatience with servants claiming their "rights" to other traditional perquisites, most notably the taking of vails. In any case, on Saturday night, February 19, 1737, Drury Lane Theatre audience members snapped. As Leo Hughes reports, "the pit at Drury Lane led a revolt in which other members of the audience ardently joined," evicting the footmen and forcing from manager Charles Fleetwood the promise to abolish the Footman's Gallery. The footmen returned, however, on Monday night, February 21, and forced entrance into the closed gallery. The *London Magazine* reports:

> This Night a great Disturbance happened at Drury-Lane Play House, occasioned by a Great Number of Footmen, who assembled themselves there in a riotous Manner, with great Out-cries of burning the House and Audience together, unless they were immediately admitted into what they call their Gallery; and in order to strike a Terror, they began to hew down the Door of the Passage which leads to the said Gallery; of which Colonel Du Veil (who was in the House) had immediate Notice, and thereupon came out where they were thus assembled, and notwithstanding they threatened to knock his Brains out, he read the Proclamation to them, admonished them to retire and desist from so unlawful an Undertaking; for that he came as a Friend, and not as a Foe, to warn them of their Danger. This Proclamation, had its desired Effect, for they all went off in a few Minutes after the Proclamation was read.[25]

The conflict was not resolved, however, and two weeks later the footmen returned.

> This Night a great Number of Footmen assembled together with Sticks, Staves, and other offensive Weapons, in a tumultuous and riotous Manner, and broke open the Doors of *Drury-Lane* Play-house, for not being let into what they call their *Gallery*, and fought their Way in so desperate a Manner to the Stage Door (which they forced open) that 25 or 26 Persons were wounded in a very dangerous Manner, in the Fray; and Col. De Veil who was in the House, being thereupon applied to, and required to read the Proclamation, did accordingly attempt to do it, having a small Guard to support him; but such was the Vio-

> lence and Number of Footmen in this riotous Assembly, notwithstanding their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales, and others of the Royal Family were there, that it was impossible to appease their Fury, without coming to such Extremities as he thought very improper; and being thus obstructed, and hindered from reading the Proclamation, in the Execution of his Duty, and not knowing where this dangerous Attempt would end, he caused several of the Ring-leaders of this Disturbance and Riot to be taken into Custody.[26]

The footmen's affront to the most sacred and established form of British authority, embodied in the royal family, contrasts sharply with the mildness of the official response, which was to sentence three footmen to six months' hard labor and to post a guard at the gallery door for a few nights following the second riot. The popular press certainly condemned the behavior of the liveried servants, but it also gave them a public voice by publishing an open letter to Charles Fleetwood.

> *To Mr. Fleetwood, in Lincoln's-Inn Fields*
> *Master of Theatre, Drury-Lane*
> *Sr.*
>
> We are willing to admonish you before we attempt our Design; and Provide you will use us Civil, and Admitt us into Our Gallery, which is our Property, according to Formalities; and if you think proper to Come to a Composition this way, you'll hear no further; and if not, our Intention is to Combine in a Body in Cognito, and Reduce the play house to the Ground, Valuing no Detection. We are Indemnified.[27]

The footmen's right to "their" gallery was restored, and they continued to hold their claim for another twenty-two years, creating a public space in which, despite its turbulence, the concept of a trans-class masculinity could take root and survive, as shall be seen, even after the Footman's Gallery disappeared.

SERVANT OPERAS OF THE 1730S

Dramatic representations of footmen contribute to their ambiguous public image in the form of a dualistic, even contradictory, gendered sexuality. On the one hand, liveried servants on the stage incorporate the aggressive sensuality that was associated with their class in polemical literature on "the servant problem." On the other, they embody a naturalized "English" masculinity transcendent of class difference, what King refers to as a distinctly gendered "legitimacy as private citizens."[28] That the English stage styled itself and its privileged audience as

"manly" (as opposed to "effeminate" entertainments such as Italian opera or French dance) is a truism of the period. If the footmen in the gallery could not be beaten, then the fictional characters of footmen on stage would ask them to join the ranks of the decorously "manly" British audience appropriate to a "manly" British stage. The invitation rendered through dramatic fiction—while not accepted with the decorum for which many audience members, irritated by the disruptive behavior of the footmen, longed—helped to put into public play demonstrations of masculinity that obscured class-based identity while emphasizing trans-class gender. As Thomas A. King describes it, "this masquerade of privacy, this pose of self-possession, this ideological misrepresentation of the class body as manliness itself is the phallus."[29] In other words, footmen were shown dramatic versions of themselves as husbands, protectors of domestic women, and avatars of a powerful, private male sexuality specifically grounded in conjugal mastery of the domestic woman.

The anonymous *The Footman: An Opera*, performed and printed in 1732, and Fielding's unperformed *Grub-Street Opera* (1731) place the servant's "manly" sexuality at the moral center of their double satires on Robert Walpole's London and on domestic service. As imitations of Gay's *Beggar's Opera*, these plays substitute servants for the former's criminals as satiric mirrors for their "betters." Both feature a MacHeath-like manservant as the hero who steals from his master and ends up marrying the Polly-like, virtuous heroine. Unlike MacHeath, however, Fielding's Robin and *The Footman*'s Charles each emerge at the play's end as a devoted husband—to one woman. Their mastery over the "right" women allows them to hint at a virile, as well as a socially and financially successful masculinity that transcends class boundaries, a manliness also emergent, as Shawn Maurer has argued, in eighteenth-century periodical literature.[30] Fielding further developed this image of the liveried servant as husband in the volatile period just before and after the footmen's riots of 1737, creating the character of Thomas in the *Miss Lucy* farces of 1735 and 1741. Thomas is a nascent version of his prose contemporary, Joseph Andrews, a cudgel-wielding hunk of sexual magnetism who becomes the manly "English Husband" to a daughter of the squirearchy.

It is probably not coincidental that these short afterpieces of the 1730s and 1740s feature butlers and footmen who both illustrate the bad behavior of servants and offer flattering alternative images of them as virile husbands to virtuous and desirable women. The timing of these short plays—late in the evening, after the main performance—was likely to bring artisans, tradesmen, apprentices, and servants together with their counterparts from the gentry, forming a notably heterogeneous audience. The London theater of the second quarter of the century

opened at five o'clock or earlier, with the primary entertainment beginning at six. Without a system of reserved seats, many of the wealthy and higher-class theatergoers sent footmen there early to hold seats for them. Many of these servants retreated, without paying, to "their" gallery once their employers arrived, joining an audience that became increasingly diverse as the evening went on. As George M. Kahrl notes, "tradesmen, workmen of all kinds, and apprentices had little chance to attend the opening play, as most of them were not free from their work until seven or after,"[31] when they were able to join the audience. The theater also became more affordable for paying customers who arrived late, as the custom of charging half-price admission at the end of the third act of the major production persisted, despite Garrick's unsuccessful efforts at abolishing this practice at mid-century.[32] The audience for these farces, then, was likely to be quite mixed. Anti-aristocratic satire, not surprisingly, is prevalent in many of these afterpieces, as decadent masters and mistresses are commonly "sent up" alongside their corrupt servants, all the while enforcing traditional "English" values of class hierarchy. Farces concerning servants, particularly footmen and other personal menservants such as valets, echo the familiar ills of "the servant problem," but also offer their audience a model of male sexual and social power that reaches across class lines, inviting identification from a broad range of men in the audience.

Fielding's *Grub-Street Opera*, with its hero-butler, Robin, is such a blatant satire on Robert Walpole that the play was never performed.[33] Nevertheless, Fielding's well-documented, astute sense of his audience makes attention to this text worthwhile, as it is indicative of the theater's political climate for portraying male servants. This piece deploys common complaints, drawn from literature on "the servant problem," about self-serving and dishonest domestics. The household culture of servants in the aristocratic family functions like the culture of criminals in *The Beggar's Opera*, with "the servant problem" mirroring corruption in society as a whole, as Robin states outright.

> In this little family plainly we find
> A little epitome of human kind,
> Where down from the beggar, up to the great man,
> Each gentleman cheats you no more than he can.[34]

The butler Robin's motivation as a domestic servant is entirely self-serving, as he earlier confesses: "It is not that I intend to live long in the family—but I don't care to be turned away.—I would give warning myself, and if this storm blows over, I will.—Thanks to my industry, I have made shift to get together a little comfortable subsistence for the rest of my days.—I'll purchase some little snug farm in Wales of

about a hundred a year, and retire."[35] Fielding targets Walpole's abuses of power for personal gain, of course, but the economic independence of the manservant and his lack of any family loyalty also reflect frequent complaints about the current state of domestic service. But however unpleasant a character Robin might be as the stereotypical thieving butler and Walpole's servant-class doppelganger, his character embodies a masculine energy that is both sexual and entrepreneurial. Upon his marriage to Sweetissa, the maid, Robin sets himself up as a householder in an alternative utopian community in which servants are masters. As Judith Frank admits about this play, "the servants' power to level class distinctions and to imagine alternative communities is clearly celebrated."[36]

I once as your butler did cheat you,
For myself I will set up now;
If you come to my house I will treat you
With a pig of your own sow.

And Sweetissa chimes in:

I once did your ladyship chouse,
  And rob you of trinkets good store;
But when I am gone from your house,
  I promise to cheat you no more.[37]

The marriage of Sweetissa and Robin transforms conniving servants into warped versions of country neighbors. The manservant as economic and sexual opportunist shades into the English (or Welsh) husband and domestic economist, and the servant's chicanery is not easy to separate from Robin's economic entrepreneurship and virility as an enterprising farmer and husband to the domestic Sweetissa.

Wrapped inside the imitative, satiric plot is a much older story about life-cycle service, the traditional relations between servants and masters that are based more on age than on class difference. Under older traditional models, the domestics' sexual and financial agency is simply not a problem, as servants do not remain servants forever; they grow out of their master's families and into their own. The opera ends, however, with a chorus from Robin's and Sweetissa's fellow domestics that foregrounds not this conventional transition out of service, but the frequently-complained-of problem of servants' economic mobility as wage-laborers.

And so we all give you warning,
  And give you a month's wages too;

We all go off to-morrow morning,
And may better servants ensue.[38]

The hope of "better servants" seems remote, but the play ends on a subversively upbeat note, with the servants singing and celebrating the alternative family of Robin and Sweetissa. It is essential to notice, however, that this investment in their own version of conjugal domesticity and individual enterprise is made possible by a very traditional model of life-cycle service; the servant-hero becomes a small farmer in the remote countryside of Wales and is no longer a servant. While leaving service for a more economically autonomous position was certainly the ideal end for a retainer's career in conduct literature for servants throughout the eighteenth century, life-cycle service, by 1730, was a dying institution and very far from the experience of many London footmen in the theater audience. By leaving service, Robin becomes master of his fortune and his wife, as he had intended all along, an option increasingly not open to all menservants. Nonetheless, for a mixed audience, Robin the butler models certain characteristics that define a sexually and financially successful masculinity across class lines: mastery over and protection of a chaste woman, economic independence, and a sense of social equality, even with the "better sort" represented in the theater's audience. While there is no "smoking gun" to indicate that Fielding had the menservants who were among the theatergoers at that time specifically in mind in shaping the *Grub-Street Opera*'s didactic mix of servants' satiric instructions and positive image-making, it is hard to believe that an awareness of his mixed audience did not go into his characterization of the male servant as a masterful husband both to his wife and of his own finances.

The Footman: An Opera, performed and printed in 1732 and dedicated to "The Society of Footmen in Great-Britain," addresses this imagined group of the published play's readers with conventional flattery: "How many, who now make the most conspicuous Figures with the brightest Equipage, would, without your Aid, make no Figures at all?"[39] The play begins, in imitation of Gay, with a dialogue between poet and player establishing that not only is the hero a footman, but that the male characters are "all Footmen!"[40] Indeed, this play has only one character who is not a domestic servant: Squire Noddy, a foolish country gentleman who is in love with Sukey, a maid. Throughout the play, Noddy is dressed in livery, because Sukey has refused his offers of marriage out of her love for John the Footman. Squire Noddy's dress makes footmen the standard for male fashion—and sexual charisma: "I went to the Tip-top Taylor in London," Noddy explains,

"and bad him make me a Suit of Clothes in the newest Fashion; and in the Stile and Character of the finest Gentleman in Town: and so, Sir, he equipp'd me as you see."[41] The sartorial spectacle of the footman as an object of desire, a cliché of "the servant problem" literature as well as the theater, plays out as class inversion, but Squire Noddy's masquerade also points toward an alternative masculinity that is more about a non-specified virility than class position. This alternative, misunderstood as a class-based, ostentatious display of clothing by Squire Noddy, is developed in the character of the play's hero, Charles the footman.

Charles embodies many of the unpleasant behaviors attributed to menservants by "the servant problem" literature. As the same time, he appeals to the audience as a conventionally virile lover in the play's courtship plot. Charles's service includes pimping for his master; but Charles, himself a ladies' man, is teetering on the verge of true love for Jenny Jessamy, a young woman whose upbringing by her uncle has saved her from the ways of her mother, a bawd. An expensive urban lifestyle, straight out of common complaints over the luxury-loving ways of London servants, keeps Charles from honorable marriage to the woman he loves: "I'd marry you, if my Fortune cou'd bear it," he explains to Jenny, "but really, I have so many Expences upon my hands, what with fine Clothes, Chair-hire, Taverns, Plays, and the like" that he cannot afford to support a wife.[42] Servants parody the corrupt materialism of their masters, following the formula of *The Beggar's Opera*; also following that formula, Charles ends up marrying the truly virtuous Jenny. This opera adapts Gay's happy ending by substituting a lottery ticket for a reprieve from the gallows. Here, Charles's master inadvertently finances his servant's marriage with Jenny by giving him a ticket for "some Considerations": "So, this comes of pimping! 'tis certainly the most profitable Employment in Life."[43] Ironically, the servant's transformation into the husband of a chaste wife comes through his labor in the service of his master's decadent, libertine sexuality. In this play, however, the hero's marriage requires a change in plot perhaps more miraculous than the *deus ex machina* ending of *The Beggar's Opera*—economic reform. Charles reassures Jenny that "I don't question but I shall be capable of supporting you in a tolerable genteel Manner. I'll retrench my Superfluities, and as you affect nothing of Gaudiness, you shall make as decent, tho' not as glaring a Figure, as any Lady about Town."[44] The footman's blossoming respectability as good husband both to a virtuous woman and of his economic resources opens a moral alternative to the wasteful "luxury" and libertinism of his master.

The manservant in this play is pointedly not tarred with the brush of decadence that colors his aristocratic master. Charles's judicious restraint with regard to women and money is achieved at the expense of his master, a libertine aristo-

crat who squanders both kinds of "commodities." Lord Gaylove literally loses his lottery ticket to Charles in pursuit of whores, and in the process also loses Jenny, the virtuous woman. Charles asserts his claims to Jenny over his master's: "He'd give the World to obtain his Desires: in that Point I shall triumph over him with all his Titles."[45] Love—as it is imagined in this mixture of anti-aristocratic satire and courtship plot—is a level playing field upon which the footman may establish his manhood at the expense of upper-class male libertinage. Charles takes up his claim as Jenny's natural protector and leaves service, simultaneously achieving sexual and fiscal responsibility. The footman's virility is not merely coincidental with his financial success; his role as Jenny's rightful lover prepares the way for him to be a good husband in every sense of that word.

Like Robin's, Charles's command over both a woman and money is made possible by the fading tradition of life-cycle service. But the play's class politics are more complicated than the *Grub-Street Opera*'s servants-turned-country-neighbors. Even more blatantly than Fielding's unperformed opera, the footman's sexual and financial mastery is achieved through a rhetoric of social leveling that sometimes exceeds its satiric purpose. For while such leveling, in *The Beggar's Opera*, demonstrates the disastrous results of a Mandevillian social system driven by the desire for personal profit, it also naturalizes a masculinity shared across class lines between master and man. Harry, Charles's footman colleague, sings:

> Tho' distinction is made 'tween us and the Great,
> And this Man's pull'd down to set that Lord elate,
> 'Tis Custom such difference makes in our Fate,
> For Faith! We had all the same Daddy.[46]

While claims to common origin and blood are hardly unique in theatrical history, and should be taken with a grain of satiric salt, in this case the context in which they were performed gives point to these particular words sung by a fictional manservant to an audience that included large numbers of highly participatory (to put it mildly), real men servants. One can imagine members of the Gallery audience singing along with Harry. This social leveling is achieved through the dramatic representation of a masculine sexuality that is as much—if not more—the retainer's as his master's. Charles's development from pander to husband braids societal equality together with a trans-class, heterosexual male prerogative. The subversiveness of these two footman plays is anchored in a masculinity that invites identification across class lines. As some of this and the next chapter will show, however, this gendered rather than class-based model of manliness could equally lend itself to the ideological and economic subjection of male servants.

The double-edged sword of the footmen's identity as Englishmen, "not slaves," in commentaries on the Footman's Gallery swings toward both subversion and recuperation on the stage, as well.

THE *LUCY* PLAYS

Two popular afterpieces by Henry Fielding, the "musical entertainment" *An Old Man Taught Wisdom; or The Virgin Unmasked*, first performed in 1735 with Kitty Clive in the role of Lucy, the country squire's daughter, and its sequel, *Miss Lucy in Town*, written in collaboration with David Garrick and unveiled, again with Clive, in 1741 and performed as an afterpiece throughout the century,[47] offer audiences a manly footman-hero without depending on life-cycle service as a "solution" to the "problem" of menservants' agency. In fact, Thomas, the footman of these plays, goes to the heart of class conflicts expressed by literature on "the servant problem" by embodying the worst nightmare of the literature's most vehement polemicists, in particular Defoe and Swift: the footman who marries his master's daughter. While Defoe imagines murder and mayhem as the result of this sexual encroachment, and Swift the moral and physical pollution of aristocratic families, Fielding seems to be saying that cross-class marriage is "not so bad, if the daughter is a handful and the footman is a good sort." The sexually opportunistic footman from the polemical satires of Defoe, Swift, and others is transformed, in Fielding's comic afterpiece, into a manly "Englishman," a more-than-adequate addition to the English squirearchy.

An Old Man Taught Wisdom presents Thomas, footman to Lord Bounce, as an object of desire to the pretty but clueless Miss Lucy, daughter of Goodwill, a benign but bumbling squire. Thomas and Miss Lucy come to the stage typed, by many of the era's satiric and didactic warnings, as ridiculous or dangerous figures: the lustful daughter of the middling gentry and her paramour, the laced, white-stockinged, and sexually and economically opportunistic footman. Fielding's Thomas echoes the almost feminine appeal of polemical literature's sexy footman. Swift, for example, mockingly addresses the footman: "You are the fine Gentleman of the Family, with whom all the Maids are in Love. You are sometimes a Pattern of Dress to your Master, and sometimes he is so to you."[48] According to Miss Lucy, Thomas "looks a thousand times more like a gentleman than either 'squire Foxchase or 'squire Tankard, and talks more like one, ay, and smells more like one too. His head is so prettily drest, done all upon the top with sugar, like a frosted cake, with three little curls on each side, that you may see his ears as plain!"[49] Thomas's attractions for Lucy evoke polemical literature's characteriza-

tion of the footman who can be easily mistaken for his aristocratic master. Here, Fielding echoes anti-aristocratic depictions of the effeminate, foppish male, as well as descriptions of laced and useless male servants in literature on "the servant problem."

The liveried servant's finery, in many such representations off the stage, is an ambiguous signifier of both his master's affluent status and his own dangerous attractiveness. It both feminizes him and makes him the marker of his employer's authority and social status. Miss Lucy's attraction to Thomas suggests that he also embodies more than his master's societal standing or aristocratic decadence. He wields a highly serviceable masculine power that is validated by an emergent gender ideology—the "natural" ability to protect women, grounded in a strong masculine body, not class position: "And then his hair is done up behind just like a fine lady's, with a little hat, and a pair of charming white stockings, as neat and as fine as my white-legg'd fowl; and he always carries a great swinging stick in his hand, as big as himself, that he would knock any dog down with, who was to offer to bit me."[50]

An Old Man Taught Wisdom continues the leveling rhetoric of the earlier footmen plays. Like Harry in *The Footman*, Thomas claims social equality despite his servitude: "Why, look ye, Sir, I am a footman, 'tis true, but I have good acquaintance in life. I have kept very good company at the hazard-table; and when I have other clothes on, and money in my pocket, they will be very glad to see me again."[51] As with *The Footman*'s Charles, Thomas's leveling rhetoric takes on dramatic credibility through his performance as an English husband whose sexual qualifications underwrite, rather than undercut, his moral authority. Thomas declares to his new father-in-law, Goodwill, "I trust that, by my future conduct, I shall not prove myself totally unworthy your respect," and the latter replies, "Thou talkest like a pretty sensible fellow; and I don't know whether my daughter has not made a better choice, than she could have done among her booby relations. I shall suspend my judgment at present, and pass it hereafter, according to your behavior."[52] Of course, the footman's masculine worth is relative to Miss Lucy's other, obviously worthless suitors—an apothecary, a dancing master, and a singing teacher—and is clearly a means to the end of another satirical point, the degeneracy of the lower squirearchy. Nonetheless, for Fielding the jury is out regarding the case of the footman's masculine claims to the "respect" of the squirearchy. The play's sequel, *Miss Lucy in Town*, makes much less equivocal claims for Thomas's masculine status as husband to the desiring Lucy, investing it instead with an idealized and specifically English masculinity.

Miss Lucy in Town begins with the newly married couple on their first trip to

London, which is represented as a sort of human marketplace in which sexuality —both the footman's and his wife's—is commodified and the exchange of bodies is as much about money as it is about lust. The action of the farce is confined to a bawdyhouse that the inexperienced Lucy and her husband mistake for respectable lodgings. Significantly, in this context, the footman-husband is as much a sexual object as his country wife. The prostitute Tawdry, upon hearing that Lucy's husband was a footman, declares to her bawd, Mrs. Midnight, "Why, I think if I can turn the squire to as good account as you will his lady, (I mean if she be handsome,) we shall have no reason to repent our acquaintance."[53] The theme of the liveried servant as erotic object is displaced, however, by the main action, which concerns the sexuality of his gentle but naive bride. Thomas is absent for most of the play, in a quest for proper, "Londonized" clothes, while his landlady attempts to sell Lucy by manipulating her "natural desires" into "fashionable" vices. Under the whores' tutelage, Lucy's countrified lust—in her words, her "plain country wooing"—is supplanted by material greed, as both Zorobabel, a Jew, and Lord Bawble, a decadent aristocratic, vie for the "goods."

The country wife is hardly passive baggage, however, and Lucy pursues her own material and sensual goals, manipulating Zorobabel into giving her jewels while pursuing her desire for Lord Bawble, who appears to her as a better-dressed version of her footman-husband: "O, la! That is a fine gentleman, indeed; and yet, who knows but Mr. Thomas might be just such another if he had but as fine clothes on?"[54] Yet Thomas's sexual charisma is never displaced by that of more wealthy or aristocratic males. In the final event, her husband's body is supplanted as an object of desire *not* by the bodies of her lovers, the Jew and the nobleman, but by those of the footmen that they promise her. She tells Lord Bawble that she must choose Zorobabel because the latter "promised to keep two tall lusty fellows, for no other business but to carry me up and down in a chair." Lord Bawble counters, not with his own physical charms, but with the addition of "two other tall fellows for no other use but to walk before your chair."[55] Fielding's satire of urban materialism raises the common figure of the "tall lusty" footman as status symbol and sexual object only to counter it, in the play's ending, with Thomas's husbandly prerogative.

Lucy's unmastered sexuality, not surprisingly, can only be stabilized by her husband's firm authority. Surprisingly, however, *Miss Lucy in Town* invests that power in the dangerously erotic figure of the manservant. The sexy footman gets the sexually loose but "gentle" daughter, but this apparent transgression across class lines only makes for a more powerful model of masculinity that naturalizes the middle-class husband. The card of gendered sexuality trumps the card of class

difference, but, of course, as Nancy Armstrong has shown us, this ideological slight of hand makes class all the more a winner by disguising it as part of gendered "nature."[56] Thomas returns in his London finery to discover his wife with Lord Bawble. As Lucy's husband, he emerges from the footman stereotype as an ideal embodiment of manly pride and independence: "You call me a footman! I own I was a footman; and had rather be a footman still, than a tame cuckold to a lord. I wish every man, who is not a footman, thought in the same manner."[57] Zorobabel, assuming that he is still operating in the carnal marketplace of the whorehouse, offers to buy Lucy from Thomas: "Sir Skip, a word with you: If you intend to part with your wife, I will give you as much for her as any man." Thomas and his father-in-law, Goodwill, respond by kicking the "low, pitiful, stock-jobbing pickpocket" off stage.[58] Even more decisively, when Thomas discovers that Lucy has not slept with Lord Bawble, he asserts his rights to the property of his wife's sexuality.

> THOMAS. I give your lordship joy of this fine girl.
>
> LORD BAWBLE. Stay till I have had her, Tom. Egad she hath cost me a round sum, and I have had nothing but kisses for my money yet.
>
> THOMAS. No, my lord! Then I am afraid your lordship never will have any thing more, for this lady is mine.
>
> LORD BAWBLE. How! What property have you in her?
>
> THOMAS. The property of an English husband, my lord.[59]

Thomas removes sexuality from the corrupt economy of the London marketplace in which his wife is, literally, for sale, and plants it firmly on the ground of a common national identity: "Fortune, which made me poor, made me a servant; but nature, which made me an Englishman, preserved me from being a slave. I have as good a right to the little I claim, as the proudest peer hath to his great possessions; and whilst I am able, I will defend it."[60] Thomas A. King's abstract argument for the historical trajectory of early eighteenth-century British masculinity could not find a more concrete example than Fielding's Thomas. As King says, "the male body—itself the scene of contestation among men of various ranks—could be the carrier of an emergent nationalism marking itself as distinct from the international, courtly, and effeminate body."[61]

Thomas's claims to the sexual and financial rights of "an English husband" are framed by the farce's conservative "Tory" politics, a rejection of whiggish urban materialism for an idealized version of England's traditional agrarian culture. Thomas's first resolution, upon reclaiming his wife, is to strip them both of their "puppet-show finery" and return to the country, "where there is still something of Old England remaining." As in *The History of Joseph Andrews*, Fielding works the

well-worn contrast between the city's corrupt, commodified sensuality and "natural" country pleasures. Lucy ends the play in a song.

> Welcome again, ye rural plains;
> Innocent nymphs and virtuous swains:
> Farewell town, and all its sights;
> Beaus and lords, and gay delights:
> All is idle pomp and noise;
> Virtuous love gives greater joys.[62]

Fielding's pastoral ideal of "Virtuous love" between a former liveried servant and his country wife puts neoclassical polish on his image of Thomas as English husband, but it should not deflect us from noticing the class politics of this marriage, particularly as performed in the urban theater. Thomas gets the girl, and triumphs over other men's claims to her, in front of a mixed audience well attuned to the sexual threat of the footman that was posed by literature on "the servant problem."

There is more going on in Fielding's footman-as-English-husband, however, than playing to a particular portion of the audience. Thomas—and his later, novelistic counterpart, Joseph Andrews—are, as will be argued below, expressive of the general ambivalence toward liveried retainers as, simultaneously, Englishmen with a tolerated public presence and voice, and threatening—even dangerous—members of an urban "mob." Fielding's sexy manservant as "English husband" offers the potential for a generally shared male identity resolving, in imaginary terms, the conflict between identification with and suppression of the footmen occupying public space and attention. While the "property" claims of London footmen to their space in Drury Lane Theatre were not sustained past 1759, Fielding's Thomas offered diverse members of the theater audience a masculine ideal that gestures toward the possibility of a gender- rather than class-based hegemony, a domesticated mastery over women by men of all ranks. Under the banner of "Englishmen," the men, at least, in London audiences were offered a model that sidesteps class differences in its concerted rejection of "unmanly" behavior. Fielding's neat solution to the problem of rowdy footmen, while a vital component in the emergence of a modern masculinity defined more by sexuality than by class, should not be taken as the final word on menservants around midcentury. Fielding's footman-turned-English-husband was only one strategic intervention in struggles which took place both on and off the stage: the dramas' competing versions of the liveried retainers' sexuality, and the physical, material struggle between footmen and other audience members over the servants' right to

"their" gallery. Bringing these little-known afterpieces to a more visible place in eighteenth-century theater history makes sense, however, in the context of menservants' highly vocal presence in one of the most important London theaters.

Even more significantly, Fielding's Thomas forms the basis for a naturalized masculinity that seems to rise above the fray of this public controversy between menservants and the upper classes that employed them, with emphasis on the "seems." In fact, Thomas is a rewriting of the manservant's sexuality in "servant problem" literature that compensates for the painful diminishment of his claims to public space, voice, and, most importantly, the perquisites that traditionally supplemented wages. This portrayal of a footman's sexuality in the second quarter of the eighteenth century offers a naturalized, gendered image of masculinity that subordinates the liveried male even as it includes him in a dominant culture that, as McKeon has shown us, increasingly depended upon privacy and domesticity for its models of value. Inviting footmen into this form of society as English husbands may or may not have helped curb the footmen's public insurrections, but it certainly aided the cultural evolution of a masculinity based on men's "natural" role as private individuals affectively defined by family relations.

JONAS HANWAY'S THOMAS TRUEMAN

This "domestication" of footmen, to employ Michael McKeon's useful term,[63] can be traced in non-theatrical discourses that reinforce the conservative class politics of the Gallery's eventual closing in 1759. Chapter 6 examines the ways in which Fielding's Thomas is re-imagined in novels from *The History of Joseph Andrews* through Godwin's *Caleb Williams*. Before the story of the Footman's Gallery ends, however, a short detour into one of the most important social contexts for its abolition—the campaign against vails—will further illuminate the way the concept of footman-as-English-husband influenced the curtailing of menservants' rights. Vails, or tips given to servants by anyone accepting private hospitality from their masters, were complained about long before they became the focus of a crisis in servant-employer relations in the late 1750s and early 60s. Guests leaving the home of anyone wealthy enough to extend ample hospitality in effect paid for their host's generosity in the form of these tips, which were often aggressively demanded by the servants upon whom the guest's comfort, in turn, depended. Hecht notes that the "sentiment against vails, militant enough before 1750 to produce sporadic efforts to uproot the custom, increased sharply in violence about the middle of the century."[64] Hecht continues: "So strong did it become that in 1757 the more resolute among employers entered into an agreement to forbid their servants to accept vails,

and during the following year the number of homes in which the practice was prohibited slowly increased. But these efforts at extirpation accomplished little. Vails-giving gradually reappeared."[65] The gentry in Scotland were quicker in their efforts to abolish tips to servants. At the end of 1759, "the freeholders and commissioners of the land tax for the county of Aberdeen resolved to do all in their power to discourage the practice and engaged neither to give vails nor to permit their domestics to receive them. Within a month the Company of Scots Hunters at Edinburgh had followed their example."[66] Although the movement was slower in England, by 1767 Jonas Hanway, a major opponent of vails-taking and the primary focus of this discussion of masculinity in the anti-vails literature, could claim that the custom was "nearly abolished."[67] Anti-vails polemics can be found across multiple genres at midcentury, from Smollett's *Humphry Clinker* to the burgeoning pamphlet literature to which Hanway contributed. Hanway is the focus of this section because his character, Thomas Trueman, so nicely exemplifies how a discourse dedicated to curtailing menservants' financial power by limiting it to wage labor domesticates the robust virility of Fielding's Thomas. In Hanway's Thomas, the footman's sexuality and gender take on the conservative work of aligning him with his master's values and interests—which do not include the open-ended remuneration of servants through vails.

While both female and male domestics demanded vails, popular resentment against servants in the anti-vails campaign seems to focus on men. Like the controversy over the Footman's Gallery, this campaign foregrounds the overreaching claims of menservants, especially footmen. Hanway explicitly singles out male retainers as insubordinate in their demands, while naturalizing voluntary generosity to female domestics within a gendered hierarchy that neatly replicates class relations. He confesses that his "partiality for the sex has induced me sometimes to drop a shilling, especially if a Girl has been young and handsome: and I justified the action with this reflection, that I should be glad to see her in a condition to be happily married to some honest man, that her beauty might not prove her bane; and, there has been some pleasure in seeing her receive this Largess with a bended knee, and not with the lofty look of a Tax-gatherer, as is generally seen in the Men-servants."[68] Giving tips to women servants comfortably fits both class hierarchy (note the "bended knee" of the maid) and the newer ideology of the domestic woman (Hanway imagines the object of his generosity "happily married"). Significantly, he does not imagine a parallel subservience on the part of menservants. His hetero-normative "partiality for the sex" blocks male subservience from the naturalized, affective channel of Hanway's highly gendered feelings. Whether or not men in domestic service were actually less willing than

women to bend the knee, the affect behind that act is not available to them; that Hanway attributes insolence to their asking of vails, like the rude behavior of footmen in the theater, underscores their overreaching masculinity.

In his critique of vails-collecting, Hanway draws on older stereotypes of greedy, selfish menservants from "the servant problem" literature that were addressed in chapters 1 and 2 of this study. More importantly, however, Hanway goes beyond repeating these stereotypes by re-casting the stage-footman-cum-English-husband as private and domestic. Hanway's *The Sentiments and Advice of Thomas Trueman, A Virtuous and Understanding Footman: in a Letter to his Brother Jonathan, Setting forth the Custom of Vails-Giving, in a Candid and most interesting Point of View, with regard to the private and public Happiness which depends on this Practice* is written in the persona of Thomas Trueman, a "Virtuous and Understanding Footman." The potential for servants' masculinity that was created by Robin, Charles, and Thomas on the stage opens up into this other Thomas, a reasoning subject who not only shares the morals of his employers, but takes ethical shape within the same affective, familial context as his ideal domestic master. Hanway's *Sentiments and Advice* fuses much of the advice made familiar by "Servant's Friends" and "Friendly Advice" volumes with the manly, sensible footman encountered on the midcentury stage. Thomas Trueman is a reflective writer on the subject of domestic service—and, subtly but importantly, a man who combines affectionate loyalty to his master with his own hetero-normative familial experience. Thomas is a loving brother to his correspondent, and, the text subtly implies, a husband. His writing rhetorically joins moral rectitude with husbandly love: "I love Truth more than Silver, and the name of Virtue is as delightful to my ears, as the soft Accents of my dear gentle Susan's Voice."[69] While Susan is never explicitly identified as a wife, possibly because of the tricky cultural politics of servants marrying (discussed later in this chapter), the conflation of Trueman's love of virtue with his love for an intimate, female voice creates lines of identification between husbands and brothers across class lines. The codes of behavior that Thomas holds in common with his employers are reinforced by a shared sense of family that includes, significantly, conjugal love.

Thomas also presents his devotion to his employer in personal, affective terms that compliment rather than contradict his roles as brother and husband. A caring relationship with his master supports Trueman's conversion to wage labor: "I have more affection for my Master, than for any man living yourself excepted; I love and honour him, and I am sure he has a great regard for me; I am therefore determined, to propose to him to give me such an encrease of wages, as he shall think proper, in exchange for Vails, which I shall most willingly renounce."[70] In

Eight Letters to His Grace — Duke of —, On the Custom of Vails-Giving in England, his 1760 polemic against vails, Hanway reiterates the common adage of literature on "the servant problem," that "a firm and solid connection between Master and Servant, will have the greatest weight, and act with double force on the minds of this class of the people."[71] But the footman's love for his employer does not supplant or contradict the retainer's own familial intimacies with a brother and, more importantly, with a wife. "Dear gentle Susan" quietly opens the possibility of Trueman as husband as well as good servant; Hanway's lack of explicitness on this point is understandable, given common resistance, at least in print, to domestics marrying. The discretion of Hanway's imaginary footman on the matter of marriage points to the crux of the problem in domesticating the liveried servant's masculinity: conjugality both guarantees his compliance with his master's values (including a belief in waged labor) and gives him a familial role at odds with "the posture of children" by which servants' subordination in the family is rationalized.

Hanway, by even hinting at the manservant's right to marry, is rather extraordinary in the literature on domestic service. In *Eight Letters to His Grace*, Hanway directly addresses the problem of how servants are to achieve the financial independence needed to marry: "Though the price of this kind of Servitude is generally beyond that of agriculture or labor, yet it ought to be remembred [*sic*] that both the Husbandman and Laborer enjoy a greater degree of independancy, and are generally better qualified to get their bread, than the Domestic in Livery, when out of place: and as few people have humanity and patriotism sufficient to entertain married servants, there is the more reason to enable them, to lay up money, in order to put them in a proper way of life: and I see no reason why this class of the people should be prohibited marriage more than any other."[72] Just as Hanway allows his readers to glimpse a "gentle Susan" in the life of Thomas Trueman, he creates a brief utopian vision of a Britain with "humanity and patriotism sufficient to entertain married servants." He does not press this argument, however. Instead, he adheres to the tradition of life-cycle service, which ends when servants marry: "In order therefore, that Servants may make the better Husbands, Fathers, and Subjects, I humbly conceive, my Lord, that if a preference were given to all young persons who have learnt some useful art, (when they offer themselves as domestics,) they would be the better enabled in case of marriage to retire from service and get their bread."[73] Hanway does not go so far as to propose restructuring domestic service so as to allow the male retainer his rights to a full adult sexuality while in service, but his claim that "this class of the people" should not "be prohibited marriage more than any other," and his view of servants

as "Husbands, Fathers, and Subjects," enfranchises menservants as adult males. Hanway's Thomas articulates the rhetorical balance between a footman's affectionate dependence on his master and his claims to a masculine, domestic authority shared by his employer. While not solving any of the economic problems inherent in male retainers achieving this balance between class-based dependence and gendered mastery, Hanway finds his solution to the servant problem in affect, feelings that will somehow sort out into the right economic arrangements between master and man. Thomas Trueman embodies an imaginative reconciliation of the manservant's two loves: a subservient, homosocial love for his master that places him firmly in the dependent "posture of children," and a heterosexual love that gives him equal claims to manhood.

As was discussed earlier, at midcentury the intimacy of female domestics with their masters and mistresses reflects both a desire for connection across class lines and a fear of the violence that might ensue from that connection. The key to both love and hate between women servants and their employers of both sexes lies in the conundrum of female sexuality. By the end of the 1750s, the male servant's sexuality seems less of a puzzle and more of a social problem, one with glaringly inadequate personal, domestic solutions. The erotic subordination of Hanway's pretty maid with her "bended knee" does not map onto the gendered masculinity of the liveried retainer as English husband. A homoerotic subordination of menservants comes too close to the specularized queer male body that King identifies as a modern development from older forms of male-male eroticism that were based upon class difference.[74] The new, middle-class, domesticated model of male sexuality is put out of the manservant's reach by both custom and economics. Yet his sexuality is key to how he is interpolated within the model of domestic life that literary historians from Nancy Armstrong to Michael McKeon see as emergent in this period. Theatrical performance may have given public visibility to the manly footman as "English husband," but theater history reveals the cultural limitations of that particular venue as a way of imagining the sexuality of menservants.

THE END OF THE FOOTMAN'S GALLERY

In 1759, David Garrick turned the Footman's Gallery into regular paying seats. This change conformed with the agenda of this most influential theater manager, who "civilized" the London theater, moving acting toward social respectability and demanding (though not always getting) more polite behavior from his audiences. Apparently Garrick had had enough from the Footman's Gallery after

several nights of protest over James Townley's *High Life Below Stairs*, a dramatic rendering of standard complaints from literature on "the servant problem" and an important text in the successful campaign to abolish vails. Boosted to popularity by strong public feeling in 1759 against vails-taking by servants, *High Life* may even have been staged in order to provoke the footmen, thereby giving Garrick an excuse to close the gallery. He might also have had an economic motive for his action, as the "free-lists" of authors and others legitimately claiming admittance to the theater without charge were a substantial drain on his revenues. Abolishing the Footman's Gallery did not keep servants away from the theater, but it did make them pay reduced-price admission, as well as dispersing them throughout the theater by taking away their "special place." Whatever his reasons, the time was ripe, as J. Jean Hecht notes, for "in taking this step he was undoubtedly also greatly influenced by public opinion, which, thoroughly aroused at the time over the vails question, was as unsympathetic toward the servant class as it ever became during the century."[75]

The footmen reacted with predictable violence against the depiction of greedy servants in *High Life*. John O'Keeffe documents the events precipitated by Townley's farce.

> Previous to the coming out of "High Life below Stairs," in London, the upper gallery was free for the servants of those who had places in the boxes. The whole race of the domestic gentry, on the first night of this excellent little piece, were in a ferment of rage at what they conceived would be their ruin; and from the upper gallery, to which they were admitted gratis, came hisses and groans, and even many a handful of halfpence was flung on the stage at Philip and my Lord Duke, and Sir Harry, &c. This tumult went on for a few nights, but ultimately was a good thing for all theatres, as it gave Garrick, then manager, a fair occasion to shut the galleries from the servants, and ever after make it a pay place, which to this day it has continued.[76]

While theatergoers continued to complain about sitting "cheek by jowl" with footmen, until the practice of reserved seats was introduced much later in English theater history, the era of the footmen's "own place" in the theater ended, as Hecht remarks, at this particular moment of crisis over servants' financial rights. Changing economic relations between masters and their domestic employees—specifically, the termination of one of the latter's traditional claims to economic and social power—created a societal context ripe for the closing of the Footman's Gallery.

Hecht suggests that performances of *High Life* in Edinburgh were instrumental in the 1759 success of Scottish campaigns against vails.[77] Thomas Trueman, modeling "good" practices of servant literacy, sends his brother a copy of *High Life*: "I sent you, by the Waggon, a Play, call'd *High Life below Stairs*: you will see the Characters are wrought up very high; but the portrait has so striking a likeness of the Original, that any one may discover for whom it was intended. I have seen many real Scenes much like it, tho' in general, you are to understand that I am looked upon as too poor, and too proud, to mix in the riotous Parties which are sometimes formed by our brotherhood, in this great Town."[78] *High Life* depicts "bad" servants, driven by materialistic greed, who parody their decadent aristocratic employers. The play's "good" servants, like the "too poor, and too proud" Thomas Trueman, are mouthpieces for domestic discipline; unlike Thomas, however, they offer nothing of the manservant as English husband. The play's satire of materialist individualism turns these retainers' affective relations—including sexuality—into a commodity exchange. The idea of servants participating in conjugal domesticity effectively disappears. Instead of a way of suturing the domestic worker into the family's values, a debased and repellent sexuality becomes a marker of their alienation from and threat to normative family relations.

The othering of servants via an association with illicit sexuality is a commonplace in "servant problem" literature (see chapter 2), but it takes a new twist in Townley's play through the racialized and sexualized differences that are embodied in the characters of African servants. The plot of *High Life* depends on ethical, cultural—and sexual—distinctions between the corrupt, West Indian, slave-holding establishment and the ideal English household of master and "free" (albeit sexless) servants. Lovel, a rich young planter from the West Indies recently come to London, is reproached by his English friend Freeman for taking "Pride in a Number of idle, unnecessary Servants, who are the Plague and Reproach of this Kingdom." Freeman articulates the common critique of aristocratic conspicuous consumption in the form of excessive numbers of domestics, while Lovel defends this practice as a logical (and personally satisfying) continuation of the English Creole's colonial power: "Servants a Plague and a Reproach! Ha, ha, ha. I would have forty more, if my House would hold them. Why, Man in Jamaica, before I was ten Years old, I had an hundred Blacks Kissing my Feet every Day."[79] Freeman and his "honest" manservant Robert attempt to open Lovel's eyes to his exploitation by the servants he thinks of only as reflections of his status. Less than convinced, Lovel decides to personally investigate Freeman's allegations by disguising himself as "Jemmy," a young country boy sent into the city to be trained as a house

servant by his own domestics, Philip and Kitty. Lovel's retainers prove true to the form of atrocious servants depicted in "servant problem" literature, except for one rough but honest footman named (of course) Tom.

High Life is a blend of the anti-aristocratic satire and complaints about "bad" servants of the footman afterpieces, with a critical difference: the plot in which the troublesome footman develops into the sexually magnetic but upright English husband is replaced by the demonization and subsequent exorcism of male servants' sexuality. Townley's representation of African servants functions rhetorically to signal the extremes of dehumanization to which the servants' unbridled sensuality might go, and it is a comic counterpart to Lovel's despotic and rather pointless mastery over them. At the burlesque revels of the domestics, Philip pairs the Africans Cloe and Kingston; as the stage direction notes, "the two Devils dance together." Their dancing is a grotesque parody of the polite courtship rituals of their employers, but the Africans also embody extremes beyond the pale of "English" sexuality: "Kissing around—Kingston kisses Cloe heartily." Even the licentious Sir Harry is shocked by their conduct: "See how the Devils Kiss!"[80] While the English domestics misbehave in imitation of their corrupt aristocratic employers, the Africans are naturally oversexed "Devils." African servants—and the institution of colonial chattel slavery associated with them and their master—are played as moral and sexual outsiders to English culture. This scene taps into European fantasies about African sexuality and colonialist miscegenation in order to send a message. English servants are not "Devils"; their sexual misbehavior is chosen and hence changeable, not a natural outgrowth of their race. At the same time, the Africans are not as clearly demarcated from the English domestics as later modern theories of racial difference would suggest.[81] The English servants may not be African, but there is no guarantee that they might not be seduced into "African" sexuality. In fact, their lack of moral control makes it likely.

The "bad" servants are finally caught out by Lovel/Jemmy, with the help of the play's two "good" servants, Robert and Tom, who expose them to their master. Like Thomas Trueman, the "good" servants have thoroughly internalized their masters' financial and social interests and ethics as their own. Unlike Fielding's Thomas or *The Footman*'s dashing Charles, or even Hanway's Trueman, the characters of Robert and Tom offer little by way of flattery to the sexual egos of the predictably outraged footmen in the audience. The honest menservants of the play barely exist as characters. Robert and Tom are forelock-tugging, didactic cutouts from conduct literature on domestic service. *High Life* gives its audience no "English husband," no flattering counterpoint to the erotically and financially opportunistic manservant found in "servant problem" literature. The response of the men in the

Footman's Gallery at Drury Lane is unsurprising, given the play's relentless stereotyping and its refusal of any positive moment of identification or self-recognition by the liveried men in the audience. A conservative response to the controversy over vails, *High Life* offers no opportunities for the footmen in the gallery to imagine a heterosexually enfranchised masculinity as their right, and it would have had little attraction for many of the other male servants in Garrick's audience. Given Garrick's goal of eliminating the Footman's Gallery, he was probably unconcerned by this lack of appeal; indeed, he may have been banking on it.

The story of the Footman's Gallery is only a fragment of a narrative too long to tell here about servant-class masculinity as it was imagined on the stage and played out in audience behaviors. It may even be seen as an exception, an anomalous instance in which a class-based, hetero-normative investment in conjugal relations is extended to men whose financial access and social claims to marriage are weak even in the rare texts, like Hanway's, asserting them. It is an important story, however, because it brings into focus a question that persists in a wide range of representations of male servants and their role in the family, beginning in the eighteenth century and continuing throughout subsequent depictions in both plays and novels. Is the manservant defined by his affective ties within his own conjugally based family, or is subjection to his master the key determinant of his identity, including his sexuality? While the two are by no means mutually exclusive—Naomi Tadmor shows us that contractual and affective relations in the early modern family were by no means always seen as a contradiction[82]—a tension between these ways of thinking about male domestics crystallizes in the "problem" of the manservant's sexuality. Garrick, who collaborated with Fielding in the second *Miss Lucy* play, was well aware of this "problem" and was a key figure in the history of managing it on as well as off the stage. His popular play, *The Lying Valet*, first performed in 1741, the same year as *Miss Lucy in Town*, offers yet another "solution" in the form of its main character, Sharp. A traditional trickster servant, he is defined by his dedication to his master, with the heroine's maid, Kitty, as a distinctly secondary bonus for his loyalty. His character subordinates the sexually predatory nature of the liveried domestic from "servant problem" literature into a homosocial loyalty between master and man.

The manservant's sexuality is often imagined as a threat to the family (see chapter 2). Stage footmen like Thomas and Sharp defuse that threat in different ways, one through a domesticated heterosexuality, the other through a homosocial bond that trumps the retainer's claims to legitimate mastery of women. Both "solutions," however different, assume a "natural" heterosexual male desire that unites master and man. Unlike the puzzle of female desire that was discussed

earlier, male desire is transparent, a part of masculine identity irregardless of class. The question about menservants' sexuality is not what is it, but, rather, what is its impact on the familial bond that is most pertinent to social and domestic hierarchies among men, the affective ties between master and manservant?

The final chapter of this study argues that the dominant, not to say obsessive theme in novelistic depictions of menservants in the second half of the eighteenth century is this affective relationship between master and man. Hanway remodels the stage English husband into the manly but subordinate Thomas Trueman. As early as 1740, the characters created by prose fiction writers, such as Fielding's Joseph Andrews, undergo transformations similar to those of their theatrical counterparts, but with greater imaginative range and fuller cognizance of the complexity of relations between menservants and their male employers. What happens when the virile footman does not leave service, as Joseph Andrews does, but remains caught in the tension between heterosexual manhood and loving subordination? What happens to the relationship between master and male retainer when affection verges on or becomes erotic—or even violent? The aggression played out between British footmen and theater audiences, as seen in this chapter, percolates in different forms through the British novel's depiction of relations between masters and menservants, extending from the mid- to late eighteenth century. That violence is never separable, however, from what George Haggerty has rightly identified as the dominant mode of homosocial connection in the eighteenth century: love. As Haggerty says, "men must love men in a homosocial configuration in order for culture to function smoothly."[83] Love between menservants and masters, unlike the potentially destructive bond between mistress and maid, supports the affective interchanges that make up the emergent modern family and its gendered sexual identities in the second half of the eighteenth century.

CHAPTER SIX

Men Servants' Sexuality in the Novel, 1740 to 1794

In the midcentury theater, the sexuality of men servants was important to the performance of a masculine charisma that appealed to British audiences across class lines. A half century's worth of prose fictional menservants grew out of this stage character of the sexy footman and, beginning in 1740 with Fielding's Joseph Andrews, developed him in the novel. In Joseph, the masculine integrity of *Miss Lucy*'s Thomas redeems Fielding's satiric caricature of the liveried retainer implausibly endowed with the feminine virtue of Richardson's Pamela. Starting with Joseph, the novelistic manservant gives imaginative life to the widespread ambivalence about menservants seen in responses to the Footman's Gallery in Drury Lane Theatre. He expresses tensions between masculine identity and his subordinate, not to say feminized, role and helps shape the contradictions between naturalized, hetero-normative masculinity and homosocial subordination. He embodies a heterosexual virility that reaches across the social barriers between servant and employer, leveling class differences and resulting in an implicit conflict, and even violence, between master and man. At the same time, he also expresses and normalizes the social subordinate's affection for his male "superiors." Four novels from the period 1740 to 1794—*Joseph Andrews*, the anonymous *Adventures of a Valet* (1752), Smollett's *Humphry Clinker* (1767), and, finally, William Godwin's *Caleb Williams* (1794)—depict different resolutions to the manservant's contradictory role of "natural" equal and social inferior.

Fielding drew from his stage character Thomas, the virile footman and "English husband," and imbued Joseph Andrews with the same mastery over "his" wife that levels social differences under the sanction of a universal masculinity.

However, the fictional Joseph, unlike his theatrical brother, avoids the nightmare of "the servant problem" literature by declining the role of sexual poacher on the squirearchy's women and asserting his prerogative over a woman of the same or, as it turns out, lower social rank. The traditional ideal of life-cycle service, combined with the literary and political conservatism of the novel's romance ending, further contain the footman's leveling sexuality, reducing it from the immediacy of performed spectacle to distanced literary convention. Nonetheless, Fielding's recapitulation of the theater's sexy footman depends on a naturalized ideal of masculine heterosexuality, transcendent of class difference, that allows for homosocial bonding based on men's sexual dominance over women.

The Adventures of a Valet approaches the problem of the manservant's sexuality from a very different angle, undermining the heterosexual contract—the convention of marriage as a happy ending—upon which Richardson, Fielding, and Smollett rely. This little-noticed novel proposes a model of identity for the male domestic that steps over his stereotypical, oversexed persona and creates a utopian family that is not dependent on a man's sexual ownership of "his" woman. Significantly, *Valet* poses an alternative model of familial love, presenting us with ideas about sexuality, masculinity, and family that do not fit the relentlessly familiar, heterosexuality-dominated, better-known literary representations of menservants. This novel's ending of chaste love between brother and sister—closer to a serious model of male chastity than Joseph Andrews—suggests that one response to the ambiguous sexuality of menservants was to avoid presenting marriage as a fitting closure to the manservant's story. *Valet*'s obscurity is symptomatic, however, of this refusal's lack of historical persistence. The footman's ambiguous but attractive sexuality found a more tenacious expression in Fielding's Joseph, whose manly identity depends on conjugal love, not the chaste bonds of brother and sister.

These two different fictional imaginings of the male domestic's sexuality within class and gender hierarchies were written and published during the decade and a half that saw the theater's most radical portrayal of the footman's claims to social and sexual equality as a leveling force between men of different social ranks. *Humphry Clinker* rewrites Fielding's Joseph Andrews according to the representational politics of the decade after the closing of the Footman's Gallery and the peak of anti-vails campaigning in England. In Smollett's novel, the manservant takes a humorous turn, allowing him virility without the claims to universal manhood that are implicit in Fielding's stage Thomas and novelistic Joseph. An amusing version of Hanway's Thomas Trueman, Humphry is both husband and "in the posture of children," the latter quality defined by Defoe as the lovingly subordinate role proper for servants. Smollett's footman has a comic virility, which tries to reconcile

masculine, heterosexual dominance with homosocial love, creating affiliation between men while re-inscribing their relationship within class hierarchy.

If Smollett depends on the homosocial connection between masculine employer and male retainer to shore up class hierarchy, William Godwin's fictional love affair between manservant and master foregrounds rather than hides the class-based conflict, which divided the interests of master and man, that was publicly visible in the sixty-some years of struggle over the Footman's Gallery. This account of the problematic gender and sexual identity of liveried servants ends with Godwin's *Things as They Are; or The Adventures of Caleb Williams*, written with a social consciousness made available by English Jacobinism. Homosocial love between master and man, the "cure" to differences and conflicts in Smollett's as well as many other fictional considerations of male servants, is, in Godwin's critical view, the site of danger and oppression. Just as violence pulses within the highly charged relationship between mistress and maid in Defoe's *Fortunate Mistress* and in popular representations of the Elizabeth Brownrigg murder case, it infuses the passionate connection between Falkland and Caleb, finally erupting in the destruction of the family. Godwin makes explicit a potential for cross-class brutality, born of homoerotic desire, that is implicit in, but denied by, Smollett's sentimental subordination of man to master. Furthermore, Godwin roots this violence not in the individual deviance of employer or retainer, but in the systematic relations of class within society as a whole. The master and manservant in his novel take the stakes inferred in the novel's re-imagining of the theatrical footman's virile sexuality and spell them out as a negotiation of masculine relations across class lines. The motive that drives the manservant's robust heterosexuality is a desire for connection between men. Love between employer and retainer in *Joseph Andrews* and *Humphry Clinker* is channeled through and mediated by their shared claims to a universal, heterosexual masculinity. Godwin's novel is remarkable not only for revealing the social, institutionalized relations that lead to violence between master and man, but also for stripping the heterosexual trappings off the passionate desire of man for man underlying that violence.

SEX AND THE FOOTMAN IN *JOSEPH ANDREWS*

Richardson brought human complexity to the stereotypical carnal relationship between master and maid by insisting on a shared moral culture that transforms erotic distance into conjugal intimacy. The woman servant's problematic sexuality is the crux of that era's debates over Richardson's novel and, of course, Fielding's focus in his earlier satire, *Shamela*. In *Joseph Andrews*, Fielding begins

by sending up Richardson's chaste maidservant through gender inversion, but his footman-hero also raises a different set of questions about menservants' sexuality—ones discussed in the previous chapter—by bringing to fictional prose the sexually charismatic Thomas of the *Miss Lucy* plays. As with Thomas, the character of Joseph responds to popular ambivalence about the manservant. Is he a boy-toy or a potential "English husband"? In answer to these questions, Joseph moves, over the course of the narrative, from feminized sex object to manly husband and protector of his lover, Fanny. Unlike Thomas, however, he does not master his lascivious mistress, and his relationship with Lady Booby keeps the theatrical footman's husbandly dominance over the squirearchy's women at a satiric distance. Joseph's heterosexuality is defused of the threat of class insubordination implicit in his stage counterpart, Thomas. Fielding does not attempt, like Richardson, to refashion the sexual attraction between servant and employer; the desire and intimacy that is finally possible between Pamela and Mr. B— cannot be mapped onto Fielding's fictional footman and Lady Booby. Joseph's triumphant manliness can emerge only when transplanted into a naturalized heterosexual desire, replacing the erotics of class with those of gender. Ironically, in the idealized love between Joseph and Fanny, Fielding reiterates Richardson's paradigm of a shared moral culture invested in marital harmony, but without any reconsideration of the erotic possibilities between manservant and mistress. Fielding distances his version of "natural" conjugal love from the dangerous relations between male retainers and their mistresses, implicitly confirming Mr. B—'s (and Richardson's) view of the asymmetry of love between master and maid and the love between mistress and man.

While the parodic elements of Fielding's portrayal of the hero-footman are clearly answers to *Pamela*, what is most compelling about Joseph's character is rooted in the midcentury context of the footman's rights to public place and voice, especially in the theater. Joseph carries into the novel elements of the liveried servant as urban pest, while reinforcing a faith in his essential masculine integrity. As Judith Frank notes, when Lady Booby takes Joseph to London, he joins the ranks of fashionably ornamental footmen who behave too assertively in public gatherings, particularly in the theater, calling to mind the recent disturbances at Drury Lane Theatre.

> No sooner was young Andrews arrived at London, than he began to scrape an Acquaintance with his party-colour'd Brethren, who endeavour'd to make him despise his former Course of Life. His Hair was cut after the newest Fashion, and became his chief Care. He went abroad with it all the Morning in Papers,

> and drest it out in the Afternoon, they could not however teach him to game, swear, drink, nor any other genteel Vice the Town abounded with. He applied most of his leisure Hours to Music, in which he greatly improved himself, and became so perfect a Connoisseur in the Art, that he led the Opinion of all the other Footmen at an Opera, and they never condemned or applauded a single Song contrary to his Approbation or Dislike. He was a little too forward in Riots at the Play-Houses and Assemblies; and when he attended his Lady at Church (which was but seldom) he behaved with less seeming Devotion than formerly.[1]

Although taking on the behavior of the footmen in Drury Lane Theatre, Joseph, like his stage brother Thomas, still retains a core of ethical integrity: "However, if he was outwardly a pretty Fellow, his Morals remained entirely uncorrupted, tho' he was at the same time smarter and genteeler, than any of the Beaus in Town either in or out of Livery."[2] He also resembles the Thomas of *Miss Lucy in Town* in keeping a moral distance between himself and urban corruption: "London is a bad place, and there is so little good Fellowship, that next-door Neighbours don't know one another."[3] Joseph recapitulates the ambivalent nature of the manservant that predominated in midcentury responses to the Drury Lane Footman's Gallery. Despite his primping and disruptive conduct in public places, he commands a certain respect. This duality also plays out, as Jill Campbell eloquently argues, in Joseph's gender ambiguity.[4] The smart young London beau in livery curls his hair, creating the feminized flowing locks of Milton's Eve and suggesting a masculinity—like that of the theatrical footman Thomas, with hair "so prettily drest, done all upon the top with sugar, like a frosted cake, with three little curls on each side"—that is questionable but attractive, disturbing but also a relief from the boorish men of the squirearchy.

While Fielding's stage footman resolves this ambiguity in the gendered image of "English husband," his novelistic counterpart, while endowed with the virile sexual charisma of his stage brother, experiences the effects of his charms on upper-class women very differently. Joseph draws the lascivious attentions of his mistress, Lady Booby, who "would now walk out with him into Hyde-Park in a Morning, and when tired, which happened almost every Minute, would lean on his Arm, and converse with him in great Familiarity. Whenever she stept out of her Coach she would take him by the Hand, and sometimes for fear of stumbling, press it very hard; she admitted him to deliver Messages at her Bed-side in a Morning, leered at him at Table, and indulged him in all those innocent Freedoms which Women of Figure may permit without the least sully of their Virtue."[5] Joseph responds, of course, not like Thomas to Miss Lucy, but like Pamela to Mr. B—. The effect is

comic—neither Lady Booby nor the reader is convinced by Joseph's protestations of chastity—and its result is painful rather than advantageous for Joseph. He is dismissed from service and, rendered vulnerable to the random violence of London's suburbs, is robbed, beaten, and left naked and bleeding in a ditch. His "feminine" chastity results in corporal damage—much as his counterpart Pamela's initially did—but without any reformative effect on his aristocratic seducer. While Pamela's broken head and bruised body lend her the moral authority of a female martyr, even for such hardened and skeptical observers as her jailor Jewkes, Joseph's naked, vulnerable body only implicates him further in an abject, debilitating sexuality. As victim, Joseph is doomed to be a focus for lust rather than a fellow participant in moral culture. Instead of drawing sympathy and succor, Joseph's body is sexually objectified. The stagecoach that ultimately rescues him nearly leaves him to die, because of female passengers who can only see him as a "naked man," not a fellow human being. Even when he is regarded with fellow-feeling by Betty, the chambermaid, it is mixed with a predatory desire.

The moral compass that saves Joseph from the worst excesses of his "party-coloured Brethren" in London also gives his sexual encounters with Lady Booby a comic rather than a heroic turn. As the plot moves Joseph away from his *Pamela*-esque defenses against Lady Booby's emasculating lust, Fielding's novelistic footman increasingly resembles his stage brother Thomas. While a long way from the authoritative "English husband" of the *Miss Lucy* plays, Joseph begins, in the encounter with Betty, to assert the masculine authority that will, ultimately, transform him from sex object to virile male.

> Joseph in great Confusion leapt from her, and told her, he was sorry to see a young Woman cast off all Regard to Modesty: but she had gone too far to recede, and grew so very indecent, that Joseph was obliged, contrary to his Inclination, to use some Violence to her, and taking her in his Arms, he shut her out of the Room, and locked the Door.
>
> How ought Man to rejoice, that his Chastity is always in his own power, that if he hath sufficient Strength of Body to defend himself: and cannot, like a poor weak Woman, be ravished against his Will.[6]

This seduction scene signals a turning away from the feminine rhetoric of chastity that characterized Joseph's responses to Lady Booby. In this instance, Joseph does not deliver speeches about his "virtue," as he does to Lady Booby. He simply puts Betty out of the room. This potential virility, hinted at in "Joey's" early talent in managing spirited horses, develops as Joseph travels away from London toward eventual, rural, domestic bliss with Fanny. Joseph is no "spindle-shanked" beau,

and his naked and sexualized vulnerability is soon forgotten in Fielding's idealized portrait of masculine heroism: "the Idea of Friendship, Courage, Youth, Beauty, Strength, and Swiftness; all which blazed in the Person of Joseph Andrews."[7] However, Joseph only achieves this masculine power by leaving behind his erotic identity as Lady Booby's footman. In Fielding's novel, the sexual objectification of the manservant, expressed in his desirability to his mistress, turns into sexual abjection as a "naked man" and, finally, is redeemed through a universalized masculinity. The specific cross-class erotics of the lady and her footman are dropped from the narrative, however, and not transformed, as they are in Pamela's relationship with Mr. B—. The liveried servant's heterosexual virility flourishes only when he seeks the ostensibly level ground of a masculinity abstracted from the specific class relations of domestic service.

JOSEPH AS ENGLISH HUSBAND

Manly strength rises to heroic status in Fielding's neoclassical descriptions of his footman-hero. As John Richetti points out, Fielding is quick to bury any cultural and material particularity of his servant-hero in a literary universalism.[8] Under the safe passage of mock-epic description, Joseph brings the strength and moral integrity of the footman as "English husband" into the novel. For example, Joseph rescues Fanny from the improprieties of Beau Didapper in terms that offer no qualifications to his authority to do so: "He went out with Fanny under his left Arm, brandishing a Cudgel with his right, and neither Mr. Booby nor the Beau thought proper to oppose him."[9] The subject of Joseph's cudgel will be taken up later in this chapter, but the most powerful way in which Fielding constructs Joseph as commandingly masculine is through his desire for Fanny. Joseph's objectification of his beloved becomes a point of identification across class lines as the reader joins the narrator in drooling over the feast of Fanny's body on Joseph's wedding night: "She was soon undrest; for she had no Jewels to deposit in their Caskets, nor fine Laces to fold with the nicest Exactness. Undressing to her was properly discovering, not putting off Ornaments: For as all her Charms were the Gifts of Nature, she could divest herself of none."[10] As Campbell points out, Fanny's beauty shifts the novel from satire and theatricality to pleasures that are "natural," authentic because they are grounded in a heterosexual appreciation shared by men across class lines.[11] The spectacle of Fanny provides occasion for masculine desires that are common to Joseph, the narrator, and, potentially, the reader. The narrator warns the reader, "if thou art of an amorous Hue," to skip over the detailed description of Fanny's "natural" beauty.

> Fanny was now in the nineteenth Year of her Age; she was tall and delicately shaped; but not one of those slender young Women, who seem rather intended to hang up in the Hall of an Anatomist, than for any other Purpose. On the contrary, she was so plump, that she seemed bursting through her tight Stays, especially in the Part which confined her swelling Breasts. Nor did her Hips want the Assistance of a Hoop to extend them. The exact Shape of her Arms, denoted the Form of those Limbs which she concealed; and tho' they were a little redden'd by her Labour, yet if her Sleeve slipt above her Elbow, or her Handkerchief discovered any part of her Neck, a Whiteness appeared which the finest Italian Paint would be unable to reach. Her Hair was of a Chesnut Brown, and Nature had been extremely lavish to her of it, which he had cut, and on Sundays used to curl down her Neck in the modern Fashion. Her Forehead was high, her Eye-brows arched, and rather full than otherwise. Her Eyes black and sparkling; her Nose, just inclining to the Roman; her Lips red and moist, and her Under-Lip, according to the Opinion of the Ladies, too pouting. Her Teeth were white, but not exactly even. The Small-Pox had left one only Mark on her Chin, which was so large, it might have been mistaken for a Dimple, had not her left Cheek produced one so near a Neighbour to it, that the former served only for a Foil to the latter. Her Complexion was fair, a little injured by the Sun, but overspread with such a Bloom, that the finest Ladies would have exchanged all their White for it: add to these a Countenance in which tho' she was extremely bashful, a Sensibility appeared almost incredible; and a Sweetness whenever she smiled, beyond either Imitation or Description. To conclude all, she had a natural Gentility, superior to the Acquisition of Art, and which surprised all who beheld her.[12]

The length and lushness of this description do not entirely elide evidence of Fanny's class-specific labor, but Fielding subsumes her "redden'd" arms and tanned skin into a "natural Gentility" that allows reader and author to share Joseph's equally "natural" desire for her.

Fielding's creation of a novelistic space for heterosexually based, homosocial camaraderie between men functions much like the theatrical manliness embodied in his "English husband" stage footman. However, the novel's naturalized heterosexual masculinity works to contain the gender ambiguity and class-leveling tendencies of the theatrical servant. Fielding subtly manages his hero's relation to Fanny so as to install Joseph's "manliness" in the context of homosocial bonding across class lines, while simultaneously critiquing the class-defined masculinity that Campbell associates, in Fielding's work, with the violence of theatrical satire—

and that I would additionally link with the literal violence of the Drury Lane footmen.[13] When Joseph, Fanny, and Parson Adams encounter a group of gentlemen hunting a hare, Fielding stages a river-crossing scene that asserts Joseph's allegiance to this male culture over his romantic devotion to Fanny. Several of the hunters are unhorsed and left struggling in the river by their fellows: "Joseph however was not so unconcerned on this Occasion; he left Fanny for a moment to herself, and ran to the Gentlemen, who were immediately on their Legs . . . and easily with the help of his Hand attained the Bank."[14] For a brief but significant moment, Joseph transfers his protection from Fanny to the hunters, a shift that is underscored when the hare being hunted is torn "to pieces before Fanny's Face." The narrative marks, for the first and only time, a gap between Joseph's and Fanny's ways of seeing the world. Fanny helplessly pities the Hare, "nor could she prevail on Joseph, who had been himself a Sportsman in his Youth, to attempt any thing contrary to the Laws of Hunting, in favour of the Hare, which he said was killed fairly."[15] Gender difference trumps class difference, but it also works paradoxically to install the footman's agency in the service of the landed (male) gentry. At the same time, the blunt savagery of the hunters comes off badly in comparison to Fanny's sensibility, signaling not only a disjunction between "feminine" affect and "masculine" camaraderie, but a critique of the latter.

It is hard for the reader to inhabit both the mindset of Fanny when exposed to the hare's mauling and that of Joseph's reference to the rules of hunting. This textual moment of contradiction might be read as a sort of literary shadow of the contradictions felt by London theater audiences toward the rowdy footmen in "their" gallery. Joseph's temporary alignment with the masculine "Laws of Hunting" and against Fanny's feminine response is a moment of crisis in the novel, one between a potentially violent homosociality and a weak, victimized, feminine sensibility. Significantly, Joseph's obligation to protect Fanny ultimately triumphs over his identification with the men who follow the "Laws" of masculine violence. As Campbell has argued, *Joseph Andrews* incorporates Fanny's "feminine" sensibility into a critique of masculine violence, contributing to the shifting formation that is masculinity in this period—or in any period, for that matter. But Joseph's moment of identification with a codified male brutality troubles the novel's idealization of the footman as "English husband." Fielding does not allow himself the luxury of fully exorcising the threat of male violence from his vision of homosocial culture. Joseph, as the perfect husband, can only be realized in the conjugal retreat that is the novel's idyllic ending. Masculinity that embodies both virility and "feminine" virtue can only be mapped onto the terrain of an imagined domestic life centered on marital love, a life that coexists uneasily with a male

landed gentry whom the novel almost always depicts as either brutal—like the Roasting Squire—or suspiciously feminine—like Beau Didapper.

THE ADVENTURESOME VALET

The 1752 novel *Adventures of a Valet* differs sharply from Fielding's dependence on conjugal love to resolve the problem of the footman's sexuality. The protagonist of this anonymous text, who is simply called Valet, embodies the cliché, expressed by Swift and other polemicists on "the servant problem," of the sexy footman as a threat to his employers and the family. The picaresque text carries its hero, the natural son of a "Father who was in a Condition to provide for me, and a Mother who thought she had Reason to be ashamed of me,"[16] through a series of adventures: as a player, a hack writer, and, for most of the novel, as a servant to a number of families whom he sexually exploits even as they use him for their own erotic purposes. Like Joseph, Valet finds an end to his wanderings in a reconstituted family, but this manservant is the opposite of Fielding's manly footman-turned-English-husband. Instead of channeling his virility into a family based on naturalized romantic love and marriage, this novel offers a family based on brother-sister love as the final "home" for the peripatetic sexuality of the manservant. If Ruth Perry is correct in arguing for a shift toward conjugality and a devaluing of blood relations in imagining the family in the eighteenth century (as I think she is),[17] then *Adventures of a Valet* is an example of a road not often taken in the English novel, a road that leads back to blood and away from the married couple.

Valet is lavish with sexual encounters between the retainer and a succession of mistresses. However, Valet's rampant heterosexuality takes a different turn just when the hero seems most truly in love. He meets the appropriately named Mrs. Love before he enters service, when his miserable existence as a writer of "Sessions Papers, and little Books for pretty Masters and Misses" has reduced him to a suicide attempt. Mrs. Love rescues him, puts him into bed, and, removing her clothing, joins him there: "She told me that she knew my Situation had spoiled me for a Ravisher for the present else she should not have taken this strange step."[18] Valet records the scene that follows as both sexually chaste and, at the same time, erotically and emotionally gratifying: "I am apt to believe there never was a much stranger Scene than that in which I was now an Actor: No Effort toward Indecency passed on either Side, but we found the Way to be mutually charmed, I know not which of us in the greater Degree; and when she got up toward Evening, I believe we parted with more Fondness for one another than ever two Lovers, who had been in the same Situation, did before."[19] How Valet

and Mrs. Love are "mutually charmed" remains unspecified; the strangeness of the "Scene" between them points to—without defining—an intimacy that is both compelling and outside the game of heterosexual intercourse. Their connection, whatever its nature, is broken when the hero becomes a valet to a foreign minister to whom Mrs. Love has introduced him. On discovering him to be "the menial Servant of his Excellence," Mrs. Love "gave some Tears to my departed Character, and went out without another Word,"[20] suspending their relationship until chance or fate reunites them. "True love," for Valet, is strangely constructed as gratifyingly different from normative sexual coupling, and can only exist in some interlude between masculine roles that define the liveried servant socially as well as sexually. It is also, apparently, unavailable as long as Valet remains in service.

Once in domestic service, the protagonist finds that his labor places him in familiar sexual roles. He becomes indispensable to the erotic transactions of a succession of masters and their kept mistresses. The former use him as pimp ("to be the Valet of one of them is I find in general to be the Pimp to them all"), while the latter deploy him for their own gratification, a dual role which gives the liveried servant considerable power: "I who possessed the Lady's Heart, and had from her Inclination, what they could only purchase the Pretences of with Money; and who, beside this glorious Triumph, had the Pleasure of being entertained with all their Secrets, and her Manner of fooling them both, had more Occasion to triumph in a Laugh than any of them."[21] Valet becomes Swift's and Defoe's nightmare-caricature of the manservant as pimp and hypersexual opportunist among a set of foreign ministers and their mistresses: "No Woman has ever bestowed a Favour upon one of these Gentlemen but she has gone through the whole Set; and that no agreeable young Fellow has served one of them [the ministers] but he has had all the fine Women in Town."[22] The feminized role of the oversexed manservant may be fun, but it does not make Valet rich. Its power rests on a shaky economic footing, as he finds out when, "laughing in Security and Happiness," he is turned out without a character: "I might have considered, that there is not on Earth so deplorable a Situation as that of a discarded Servant, who has not the Means of getting into another Family. Pride, Idleness, and Indigence, are Concomitants that never fail to make the Person who is possessed of them together, a Wretch of the very lowest Order; and it is the Fate of every one who has been in the Station I had filled in a genteel Family, to be thoroughly possessed of the two first, as surely as it must be to be acquainted with the last, after the very little he finds himself worth at his quitting his Post, is got rid of."[23] Valet's masculine pride in his claims to the sexual prerogatives of an attractive manservant goes before this financial fall. Valet's virile manhood is contradicted by his economic dependence.

Tempted to become a highwayman, Valet resists out of "Prudence," and finally hires on as butler to a respectable lady, a position which, he hopes, will make "the difference between the Life of a Man kept by a Woman for her Pleasures, and that of one entertained in her Service in the more ordinary way." His hopes are not fulfilled, and his employer, once she becomes his lover, "thought it necessary in Justification of her own Pride to tell this Story [of Valet being a gentleman by birth and education] to the Servant whom she found it necessary to make the Confidant of our Intimacy." This "new discovered Dignity" alienates the other servants from Valet's company. Socially isolated and bored, he blackmails the lady into giving him a good character for finding another place by "putting her in Mind by a Letter, that our Characters were in one another's Hands."[24] Valet's virility is a two-edged sword: it gives him a certain power over master and mistress, but it also traps him into more obligations and manipulations than selling one's labor should entail. Domestic service is never just a job, but rather a series of emotional and sexual entanglements; he escapes one only to fall into another.

His appeal as a household sexual magnet continues to thwart his attempts to earn a living, even when he is residing chastely with the mistress of a middle-class City family who "could not bear to have a Servant in the House that knew her Daughter was in Love with him."[25] Even within the sanctity of the middle-class family, Valet is sexually objectified. He finds no escape from a heterosexual economy in which male servants are either exchangeable objects or "dealers" on the market. He ends up back at his old trade of pimping for the upper classes, a trade that he holds in common with other London servants: "I don't know whether the natural Right of Self-Preservation, and the Principle of doing Good to ourselves, will justify the Politics of Servants, who regulate the Affairs of their Masters according to the Dictates of them; but very certain I am, that most of the Families in this Town are governed in this Manner, without any of the Persons knowing that it is so. Interest was the sole Motive with which I, who was conscious I was possessed of as great Abilities, and who shrewdly suspected that as good Blood ran in my Veins as my Masters could boast, prostituted my free Soul to them."[26] Valet straddles a fine line between social leveling and the polemics against self-interested domestics: "O could the People of Fashion know how they are bought and sold by their Domestics, how gloriously would it mortify that Pride which gives them such an imaginary Preeminence over Creatures of their own Species! But I am betraying too much of the Mysteries of my Profession."[27] Domestic service locks him into the roles of either erotic object or pimp; sexuality is defined by and also defines a social network of human commodification and exploitation. Valet's "free Soul" and

"good Blood" indicate an unrealized—and perhaps unrealizable—potential for an identity outside this economy of sexual exchange.

This utopian possibility emerges more fully in the novel's ending, which is driven by the same family-romance trope of identity-discovery that ends the story of the valet's better-known novelistic brethren, Joseph and Humphry Clinker. Mrs. Love re-enters the story just as Valet is reunited with his long-lost father. She is discovered to be Valet's sister, and the three form a family unit in which sexuality has no part. Like Joseph and Fanny as "brother" and "sister," Valet and Mrs. Love look toward a platonic future: "My Father died soon after: We lamented the Consanguinity that prevented our entering into a more near Alliance; but we blessed the Fate that had made us the Preservers of one another; and in the Extremes of Fondness has saved us from unknown Incest." Unlike Fielding's incest-fearing but desiring lovers, however, Valet and Mrs. Love seem relatively unperturbed by their platonic future. They live happily ever after—"Our little Family is as happy as Affluence and Harmony of Tempers can make us: We live together, and find a Haven doubly welcome after a Life of Storms"[28]—but without the heterosexual bond which qualifies Thomas and Joseph as "English husbands." The ending of *Adventures of a Valet* offers a "solution" to the "problem" of the manservant's leveling claims to masculinity, but in a way that is very different from the marriage-ridden conclusions of the two canonical novels. The incest taboo permanently castrates Valet, denying him the culturally powerful position of "husband." This odd, little-known novel, as we read it through a couple of centuries' worth of romantic and comic conventions, reveals what Joseph's marriage tends to conceal: the difficulty of reconciling the slippery sexuality of the manservant with the heterosexual cachet of the "English husband." Valet is permanently "in the posture of children," with no hope of developing into the manly Joseph. His fate reveals, rather than resolves, the contradiction between the manservant's role as subordinate within the family and the adult masculinity he shares with his "betters."

HUMPHRY CLINKER'S CUDGEL

After the public crisis over the Footman's Gallery, and the larger one over vails at midcentury, a very different horizon of possibility defines the representation of male servants in the novel. Tobias Smollett's 1767 *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* rewrites Joseph Andrews' conflicted identity as "English husband," drawing it more firmly into line with the politics of master-servant relations as they emerged after the fight to abolish vails had been won and the Gallery was history.

The parallels between the plots of the two novels are striking: both Joseph and Humphry are footmen who are discovered to be the sons of gentlemen, both wed former fellow servants, and both are virile husbands to their wives. Smollett's novel works off these similarities to create a contrast between Joseph's universalized masculine dominance and Humphry's highly class-specific form of heterosexual virility. One way of reading Smollett's Humphry is as a response to the vulnerabilities and strengths that Fielding builds into his footman-hero. Smollett parallels the vulnerability of Humphry's naked body to Joseph's in order to underscore his footman's relative lack of masculine control and his subservience to upper-class men. For similar reasons, he creates in Humphry's lover, Win Jenkins, a very different sort of feminine spectacle than Fanny, one that reinforces rather than elides class differences. Even Humphry's weapon of choice in protecting Win, a cudgel, echoes Fielding's Joseph, only to stress the class-based specificity of one over the neoclassical universalism of the other. Finally, Smollett rewrites Joseph's contradictory moment between homosocial loyalty and heterosexual union in another river-crossing scene that not only prioritizes the footman's attachment to his master, but also invests it with an emotional seriousness and psychological depth that far outweigh the minimal identification possible with his role as "English husband."

Both Joseph and Humphry begin their literal journeys toward marriage and manhood naked, vulnerable, and in need of rescue. Matthew Bramble, while on the road, takes into his service a starving and partially naked Clinker, described as "a love-begotten babe, brought up in the work-house, and put out apprentice by the parish to a country black-smith, who died before the boy's time was out."[29] Matthew's spinster sister Tabitha and her maid Winifred Jenkins echo, respectively, Fielding's prudish ladies in the coach and the rather warmer responses of Betty the chambermaid. Tabitha complains, "he was such a beggarly rascal, that he had ne'er a shirt to his back; and had the impudence to shock her sight by shewing his bare posteriors." Just as Betty is struck by the whiteness of Joseph's skin, Winifred "confirmed the assertion, with respect to his nakedness, observing, at the same time, that he had a skin as fair as alabaster."[30] The "pattern of his naked skin" makes the first impression on Winifred's primitive heart. Like Joseph's, Humphry's exposed body sexually objectifies him in ways that, at least ostensibly, differ across class lines. Joseph, however, even when preyed upon by the lecherous Betty, exerts control over his sexuality, reproaching her and pushing her out of his room. Humphry's priapic virility, while equal to Joseph's, is never fully under his command. It remains, for all its potency, the butt (quite literally at times) of homosocial humor between the reader and the novel's upper-class men.

In contrast to Joseph, whose physical comeliness evolves into idealized, heroic masculinity, Humphry's sexuality, from beginning to end, remains something of a joke. When Bramble explains to Humphry that "thou ha'st given [Tabitha] much offence by shewing her thy naked tail," Clinker apologizes: "I shall take care that my tail shall never rise up in judgment against me, to offend your ladyship again."[31] His language betrays his attempts to manage his sexually charged body, turning it into a joke even as he resolves to "take care" of it. Humphry's strength and manly vigor are never in question; like Joseph, his capacities are signaled, among other ways, by his horsemanship. But his potency is also funny, a comic virility that marks his difference from upper-class males. When Bramble's new friend Wilson wants to play a joke on Tabitha and Lishmahago on their wedding night, he is persuaded to redirect his practical humor to Clinker and his bride, Jenkins. "The weight of Wilson's waggery fell upon honest Humphry and his spouse" when Wilson sets loose a cat shod with walnut shells to affright them in their bedchamber. Humphry responds with appropriate alarm, giving his "betters" the value of the joke while still retaining the sexual potency that belongs to him as an "English husband." He ejects the cat, and, with the aide of "a double bolt," retires to "enjoy his good fortune."[32]

Even though Humphry, like Joseph, achieves possession of "his" woman, Winifred Jenkins, unlike Fanny, offers no parallel possibilities for trans-class, shared voyeurism. We do not see her undressed on her wedding night, but, rather, in an act of infidelity against her lover, dressed up with all the moral foibles and weaknesses "the servant problem" literature attributes to women servants. While Fanny firmly rejects Beau Didapper, the morally fallible Win is receptive to the faux-aristocratic seductions of Dutton, Jery Melford's frenchified valet. She and Dutton go to the playhouse in their over-fine, castoff clothing, painted and patched to the gills: "As they passed for players ready dressed for acting, they reached it unmolested; but as it was still light when they returned, and by that time the people had got information of their real character and condition, they hissed and hooted all the way, and Mrs. Jenkins was all bespattered with dirt, as well as insulted with the opprobrious name of *painted Jezabel*."[33] Whereas Fanny's natural beauty presents a vision that appeals across class lines, reaching even to Fielding's imagined readers, Win is ridiculous, even abject, a spectacle that reinforces, rather than elides, the divisions among ranks. Humphry's possession of Win on their wedding night offers no chances for a male gaze that transcends social divisions. The sexuality of the two former servants at the novel's end is grounded firmly in class essentialism, not universals.

Humphry has masculine, protective impulses toward "his" woman, similar to Joseph's, but Smollett echoes Fielding's manly footman with a significant differ-

ence. Parallel to Beau Didapper's attempts at seducing Fanny, Jery Melford's valet, Dutton, makes a play for Win. Whereas Joseph spontaneously defends Fanny just by brandishing his cudgel, Smollett's protective lover first asks Melford, his young master, for permission to redress her wrongs by challenging his servant. His request not only conforms to a class hierarchy governing masculine action, but comments on the rank-based propriety of weapon choice. Melford explains that "Humphry then came to me, humbly begging I would give him leave to chastise my servant for his insolence—'He has challenged me to fight him at sword's point; (said he) but I might as well challenge him to make a horse-shoe, or a plough iron; for I know no more of the one than he does of the other.'—Besides, it doth not become servants to use those weapons, or to claim the privilege of gentlemen when they fall out." Melford gives his permission, and Clinker provokes Dutton to the "first blow." Rejecting the latter's challenge and Lishmahago's urgings to have recourse to "cold iron," he thoroughly drubs the valet with his club: " 'Cold iron (cried Humphry) I shall never use against the life of any human creature; but I am so far from being afraid of his cold iron, that I shall use nothing in my defence but a good cudgel, which shall always be at his service.' "[34] While Joseph and Humphry both protect "their" women with a weapon appropriate to laboring-class men, Smollett emphasizes the class propriety of Humphry's weapon, in contrast to Joseph's. Fielding associates Joseph's cudgel with Achilles' arms in *The Iliad* and with a reference to a London entertainer of the recent past, William Joy, the "strong man of Kent." The mock-epic allusion puts Joseph in the nowhere land of Fielding's "comic Epic-Poem in Prose," and Kent's club, which has broken several "heads" upon the "Stage," links Joseph's manliness with the theater of Fielding's Thomas and the Footman's Gallery, evoking the theatrical context for menservants' masculine identity. Clinker's cudgel, on the other hand, is opposed to the gentleman's sword to which Lishmahago has, and Dutton pretends, a claim. His manly strength and his right to protect "his" woman are firmly installed in his subservience to his male "betters." Joseph's masculine prerogative floats in a novelistic space that transcends, at least for the moment, the authority of both Adams, his clergyman and spiritual "father," and the aristocratic Didapper. By contrast, the fictional retainer Clinker, in relation to the novel's gentlemen, is firmly installed within his subservient class.

Smollett's conservative rewriting of the ambiguous class politics of Fielding's stage and novelistic footmen does more, however, than strip the liveried servant of his earlier dignity as an "English husband." Like Hanway's Thomas Trueman, the character of Humphry brings affective power to the male domestic's subservience. He invests his manservant with feelings that lend psychological motivation—a sort

of servant's ideal subjectivity—to his depiction of Clinker. In *Humphrey Clinker*, as Michael McKeon notes, "the volatility of excessive affect—the self-consciously aesthetic response to life as though it were art and to art as though it were life—is thus paradoxically the stable foundation on which family likeness is grounded, the answer to the question of Bramble family identity."[35] The relationship between Matt and Humphrey is characterized by a series of set pieces that evoke this "self-consciously aesthetic response to life as though it were art." When Bramble offers Humphry the money in his pockets as a reward for saving him from drowning, Clinker responds:

> "God forbid! (cried Clinker) your honour shall excuse me—I am a poor fellow; but I have a heart—O! if your honour did but know how I rejoice to see—Blessed be his holy name, that made me the humble instrument . . . for your worship, I would go through fire as well as water—" "I do believe it, Humphry (said the 'squire); but as you think it was your duty to save my life at the hazard of your own, I think it is mine to express the sense I have of your extraordinary fidelity and attachment—I insist upon your receiving this small token of my gratitude; but don't imagine that I look upon this as an adequate recompense for the service you have done me—I have determined to settle thirty pounds a-year upon you for life" . . . "Lord make me thankful for all these mercies! (cried Clinker, sobbing) I have been a poor bankrupt from the beginning—your honour's goodness found me, when I was—naked—when I was—sick and forlorn—I understand your honour's looks—I would not give offense—But my heart is very full—and if your worship won't give me leave to speak,—I must vent it in prayers to heaven for my benefactor."[36]

This is certainly not to say that Humphry becomes a complex character in such scenes. As John Richetti rightly claims of the servant in eighteenth-century fiction in general, "service as such excludes the singularity of personality that defines an authenticity (in fact a class privilege) we now identify as novelistic."[37] Humphry's character is less about "subjectivity" in the sense of psychological realism than it is an "instinctive submission" that "points to an order and inevitability meant to contrast with the social disorder and historical contingency Matt has furiously denounced at Bath."[38] The novel nonetheless breathes affective life into this "instinctive subordination" through the sentimental spectacle of Humphry's choked-back gratitude and Matt's gruff patronage. As McKeon, again, cannily observes, "it is not that he is an object who is never permitted to be a subject, a nonliterate 'subaltern' denied his 'voice,' but that as the most abject and unmoored of commoners he functions as Smollett's lowest common denominator

and 'speaks' for everyone."[39] Humphry may not be a man in the sense that Joseph is, but sentimentality allows a strong cross-class bond between master and manservant that is finally more compelling and emotionally serious than Humphry's love for the dubious Win.

Smollett stages a river-crossing scene parallel to the one in *Joseph Andrews* that draws affect toward Humphry's loyalty to his male employer and away from his role as heterosexual protector, resolving the contradiction created in Fielding's novelistic footman. Bramble and family are crossing a river in the course of their travels when the coach is upset and floods, endangering the lives of those within. Bramble's nephew, Jery Melford, writes:

> I met Clinker hauling ashore Mrs. Jenkins . . . but, when I asked if his master was safe, he forthwith shook her from him, and she must have gone to pot, if a miller had not seasonably come to her relief.—As for Humphry, he flew like lightning to the coach, that was by this time filled with water, and, diving into it, brought up the poor 'squire, to all appearance, deprived of life . . . The faithful Clinker, taking him up in his arms, as if he had been an infant of six months, carried him ashore, howling most piteously all the way, and I followed him in a transport of grief and consternation . . . Clinker perceiving these signs of life, immediately tied up his arm with a garter, and, pulling out a horse-fleam, let him blood in the farrier style.[40]

Clinker is, of course, more nearly concerned in Bramble's fate than Joseph is in that of the unknown hunters, and Smollett recasts the footman's heroic rescue scene in the terms of family melodrama. He also emphasizes his retainer's allegiance to the patriarch over his masculine, heterosexual, protective instincts. Humphry does not just leave "his" woman "for a moment to herself"; his urgency in going to Bramble's aide causes him to forget her safety completely. The language of this scene emphasizes the manservant's strength and his emotional dependency. Clinker is both the parent who carries the infantilized Bramble to safety and the child wailing for his fatherly master. Humphry's brawn is firmly installed in the service of his employer, resolving the contradiction between homosocial subservience and trans-class heterosexual identification that Fielding's Joseph embodies. In a significant contrast to Joseph's insensitivity to Fanny's gendered distress at the hare's destruction, the only violence Humphry countenances in this scene is the healing cut of the horse-fleam that saves Bramble's life. Instead of the camaraderie among sportsmen, Humphry's filial tie to Bramble is, literally, therapeutic, a healing relationship that installs the manservant's masculine agency firmly within the family. The interests of landed men are just as

clearly served as they are in Joseph's willing participation in the "rules" of hunting, but without the uncomfortable contradiction of Fanny's distress.

For Smollett, the emotionally charged relationship between master and man resolves the contradiction between the retainer's shared heterosexual masculinity with and his class-specific subordination to upper-class men. Humphry's status as "English husband" is always qualified by his emotional attachment to Matt. Of course, the discovery of the footman's real identity as Matt's illegitimate son further naturalizes that attachment, and it frames his marriage with Win in the multiple weddings and mass setting-up of an expanded household, headed by Matt, that occur at the novel's end. Ruth Perry is right to read *Humphry Clinker* as privileging the consanguinal family over the conjugal one, insofar as the final chapter's celebration of marriage is ensconced within the blood ties of the Bramble clan.[41] The footman's rights as a heterosexual male are easily accommodated in the extended patriarchal family—at least in Smollett's novel. Smollett's reification of affective bonds between master and man is as much a product of his historical moment as Fielding's footman-as-English-husband was in his decade. Like Thomas Trueman's love for his master, which allows him to resolve any conflict between their respective financial interests, Humphry's devotion to Matt is essential to an affective ideal of the family capable of incorporating the gendered individualism—sexual and economic—of male servants.

However, *Humphry Clinker* includes a dark, alternative vision of the bond between master and man in its social satire on "the servant problem." As viewed by Matt, the cross-class homosocial relationship between employer and servant in a corrupt, materialist England is a grotesque exchange of money for corporeal pleasure that borders on sexual perversion. Clinker's filial devotion to Bramble contrasts with the repellent master-servant relationship indulged in by Matt's "Yorkshire cousin," whose house, filled with vails-grubbing domestics, more resembles an inn than a hospitable home. The master, grown too fat to hunt, seeks alternative forms of pleasure to the killing of animals. The result is an unsavory intimacy between employer and retainer.

> His huntsman every night entertains him with the adventures of the day's chace, which he recites in a tone and terms that are extremely curious and significant. In the mean time, his broad brawn is scratched by one of his grooms.—This fellow, it seems having no inclination to curry any beast out of the stable, was at great pains to scollop his nails in such a manner that the blood followed at every stroke.—He was in hopes that he would be dismissed from this disagreeable office, but the event turned out contrary to his expectation.—His master de-

> clared he was the best scratcher in the family; and now he will not suffer any other servant to draw a nail upon his carcase.[42]

In contrast to the healing cut of Humphry's horse-fleam, this bloodletting signifies the servant's subordination to the master's perverse enjoyment. The intimacy between them is entirely corporeal, without affection, and is based on pleasure produced by damage done by the groom to his employer's body. The bizarre, perversely erotic violence of this relationship contrasts with the father-son intimacy between Matt and Humphry and points to the recalcitrant problem of conflicting material interests between menservants and masters. Matt and his extended family, including his servant-son, create a pleasanter alternative to the unhealthy pleasures of a master-man relationship based exclusively on self-interest, but Smollett's satiric vision of the existent state of relations between employers and servants takes the complaints of "the servant problem" literature to repulsive excess.

THE EDUCATION OF CALEB WILLIAMS

In the 1790s, William Godwin inherited a legacy of novelistic servants, from Pamela to Humphry Clinker, when he created a new domestic-as-protagonist in Caleb Williams. Like the adventuresome Valet, Caleb's first-person narrative opens a fictional perspective on the institution of domestic service from the retainer's point of view, but Godwin's focus is both socially broader and yet narrower than his 1752 predecessor. His novel, despite the range of its social and political critique, is obsessively concerned with the relationship between master and male servant. Godwin builds his novel on the eroticized violence of this bond. *Caleb Williams* locates pleasure—and ultimately violence—within the affective relations between man and master. Godwin's oppositional politics led him to contextualize these relations in the social institutions that he wished to criticize, from the traditional and much-abused powers of the squirearchy over the yeoman farmer to the British judicial system. Instead of blaming the individual economic motivations of employer and servant, Godwin turns to the social institutions and relations that give structure and tenacity to those conflicting interests. Significantly, he develops this analysis of society from the point of view of the literate servant. Godwin draws on existing discourses on the education of domestics to create a first-person, narrative representation of the literate male retainer's subjective experience. From this imagined servant's-eye-view, Godwin offers us a sense

of motive and affect behind the much-vexed issue of the manservant as both subordinate to his master's will and, simultaneously, just as "English."

The orphaned Caleb enters service at eighteen, an age more comparable to Humphry's than Joseph's, but with an education very different from that envisioned by either Fielding or Smollett. His reading, directed only by personal interest, runs to "books of narrative and romance": "I delighted to read feats of activity, and was particularly interested in tales in which corporeal ingenuity or strength are the means resorted to for supplying resources and conquering difficulties."[43] Far from Joseph's *Whole Duty of Man*, Caleb's reading material stresses individual action over social and moral duty and the material strength of bodies over spiritual discipline.[44] He is driven by a desire for knowledge very different from that of Sarah Trimmer's ideal servants, who reject romances as not helping them to "know their duty." If Joseph and Trimmer's domestics personify the process by which servants internalize "the Great Law of Subordination," Caleb embodies the raw material of individualism. Caleb is motivated not by a desire to know his duty, but by pure curiosity, the simple craving to find out "what happens next." This appetite for narrative drives him as a man as well as a reader: "Curiosity, so long as it lasted, was a principle stronger in my bosom than even the love of independence. To that I would have sacrificed my liberty or my life; to gratify it, I would have submitted to the condition of a West Indian Negro, or to the tortures inflicted by North American savages."[45] This craving for knowledge makes Caleb dangerously oblivious to the very real relations of subordination and dominance that materially determine the conditions of his life. (In fact, slavery and torture *are* the concrete results of his thirst for information.) The servant's literacy, in Caleb's case an addiction to what we might call "action" narrative, produces an individualism very different from the hothouse morality of Trimmer's ideal servant—a decidedly secular and not particularly dutiful interest in narratives of adventure. Caleb brings this desire into his relationship with Falkland, and much of the first part of his story re-enacts his enthrallment by tales of his master's past acts of nobility and generosity: "My feelings were successively interested for the different persons that were brought upon the scene . . . I found a thousand fresh reasons to admire and love Mr. Falkland."[46] Caleb's "education" builds a strong affection for his employer, not out of duty, but out of admiration for individual motives and action. This affection, the product of a "curiosity" that cuts across class lines and is therefore not grounded in relations of dominance and subordination, threatens the master's control even more than the sentiments of the most resentful and self-interested servant. Caleb's crush on Falkland, coupled with his driving curiosity,

leads him to study the older man with an attention the latter's hidden crimes can ill bear. The domestic's knowledge of his master's secrets is a threat to social and familial hierarchy, as was noted by many writers on "the servant problem." Robert Dodsley, the footman-publisher, advises his "Brethren of the Livery":

> But above all be careful to conceal
> What passes in the House in which you dwell;
> Your Master's House his Closet ought to be,
> Where all are Secrets which you hear or see:
> Things which may seem of smallest Consequence,
> Ought not by any Means be carried thence;
> For he who indiscreetly babbles small Things,
> May be suspected of the same in all Things.[47]

Focused as he is on individual motive and action, Caleb does not learn this important lesson about his role as a servant. Without ties to the subordinating discourse of the servant's duty, his "education" only gives him information that is dangerous to both himself and his master.

The process of learning Falkland's history from his steward, Collins, brings before Caleb the spectacle of his employer as an exemplar of the landed gentry. His greatness of mind in being able to rise above personal insult in order to further the good of a noble Italian family, his rational attempts to stem Tyrrel's violence, and his kindness to the pathetic Emily all feed Caleb's fascination with and respect for his master. But Caleb's fixation on individual heroics blinds him to the "lesson" of class subordination taught by Collins' narrative. Tyrrel, the monster whose will to dominance ultimately destroys Falkland, is created by a family ungoverned by what Defoe called "the Great Law of Subordination." Brought up by an indulgent mother, Tyrrel fulfills the Lockean stereotype of what happens when the servants have too much to do with a child's education: "He soon broke loose from these trammels [of his mother] and formed an acquaintance with the groom and gamekeeper. Under their instruction he proved as ready a scholar as he had been indocile and restive to the pedant who held the office of his tutor."[48] Educated by domestics who are not likely to teach him the sense of social duty that should govern personal desire, Tyrrel grows into a master for whom subordinates, such as his "poor relation" Emily or his tenant Hawkins are pets, indulged insofar as they gratify his senses or his vanity and cruelly checked if they do not. He cannot accept or understand Hawkins' refusal of his offer to take the latter's son "into his family" as a servant. Falkland's attempt to teach his neighbor the lesson of

noblesse oblige—"We that are rich, Mr. Tyrrel, must do every thing in our power to lighten the yoke of these unfortunate people [the poor]"[49]—predictably fails to persuade the willful squire.

The inevitable destruction of the Hawkins family teaches Caleb the lesson that socially sanctioned power will always trump individual rectitude: "It was mere madness in him to think of contesting with a man of Mr. Tyrrel's eminence and fortune . . . Nothing could have been more easy to predict, than that it was of no avail for him to have right on his side, when his adversary had influence and wealth, and therefore could so victoriously justify any extravagancies that he might think proper to commit . . . Wealth and despotism easily know how to engage those laws as coadjutors of their oppression which were perhaps at first intended [witless and miserable precaution!] for the safeguards of the poor."[50] But Caleb is excruciatingly slow to apply this lesson to his relationship with Falkland, in large part out of his belief in the individual's ability to rise above social hierarchy through personal rectitude. He admires, for example, Falkland's ability to transcend the aristocratic codes of masculine honor that could have led to a tragic duel while on his travels in Italy. And he naively believes in his own individual claims to autonomy over the formal and informal mechanisms that subject the servant to the master.

> I am free. What concern have I with danger and alarm! I feel that I am free; I feel that I will continue so. What power is able to hold in chains a mind ardent and determined? What power can cause that man to die, whose whole soul commands him to continue to live? I looked back with abhorrence to the subjection in which I had been held . . . I thought with unspeakable loathing of those errors, in consequence of which every man is fated to be more or less the tyrant or the slave. I was astonished at the folly of my species, that they did not rise up as one man, and shake off chains so ignominious and misery so insupportable . . . I resolved . . . to hold myself disengaged from this odious scene, and never fill the part either of the oppressor or the sufferer.[51]

Caleb's resolution to claim his own type of freedom is, of course, futile, and he learns all too well that the same class privilege that condemns Hawkins to death guarantees his own fate as the victim of Falkland's power. The social hierarchy of master and man overrides both personal feeling and personal excellence, locking Caleb and Falkland into a relationship of mutual destruction. Caleb's ideals of individual nobility, unfettered by class subordination, do not prepare him for the eroticized struggle for dominance that inevitably follows from his desire to know his master.

MASTER AND MAN: EROS AND VIOLENCE

Many readers have been struck by the eroticism of Caleb's fascination with Falkland, and, indeed, the novel often fuses the protagonist's desire to know with forms of enjoyment, creating a structure of knowledge/pleasure that has been intelligently analyzed by many critics.[52] Instead of reading this structure within the framework of emergent modern sexual categories, I would interpret it within the dynamic relations of control and intimacy that are evident in master-servant relations throughout this study. Like Pamela and Mr. B—, Amy and Roxana, and Mary Clifford and Elizabeth Brownrigg, Caleb and Falkland comprise a couple defined by class difference and linked by desires that lead far too easily to violence and pain, and even to the destruction of one by the other. Godwin follows Richardson more than Defoe, however, in giving his servant-protagonist a character that "rises above" the material conditions of servitude. Both master and man feel a longing for intimacy with each other that seeks to transcend materiality, placing their desires on a plane very different from the gross sensuality of Matt Bramble's Yorkshire cousin, and leaving same-sex eroticism, if present, firmly in the closet. But if the focus is less on categories of sexual orientation and gender roles, and more on what this study sees as the cross-class dynamics of power and desire that define master-servant relations in the family, Caleb has more in common with Richardson's Pamela than just being in service. Caleb and Falkland, in many respects, play out the roles of Pamela and Mr. B— outside the ideological framework of heterosexual love and marriage. By eliding heterosexuality altogether, Caleb's persecuted innocence avoids the cultural absurdities, pointed out by Fielding's novel, of theorizing male virtue in terms of feminine chastity, but it repeats many of the same tropes of Pamela's story, only across the lines of gender difference. Caleb, like Pamela, is trapped within the dynamics of intimacy and power that characterize master-servant relationships. He is locked in affective relations of "family" that suture him into these dynamics just as surely as his fictional female predecessor.

As with Pamela, the very conditions of Caleb's labor expose him to a dangerous intimacy with his employer. Falkland's aristocratic code of honor compels him to murder Tyrrel, the first act of violence that leads to the gradual dissolution of both master and man. Forced by a personal resolution to maintain his honor through the concealment of his crime from the world, Falkland finds in Caleb the only outlet for expressing his real guilt and anguish. His initial relations with Caleb are characterized by a simultaneous longing and inability to communicate his feelings. The physical proximity of Caleb's position as clerk-librarian in the house-

hold makes him privy to the fits of mental disorder that Falkland conceals from the other servants: "I looked at him with anxiety and affection. He made two unsuccessful efforts [to communicate something], shook his head, and then, putting five guineas into my hand, pressed it in a manner that I could feel proceeded from a mind pregnant with various emotions, though I could not interpret them."[53] The giving of money instead of words, like Mr. B—'s gift of stockings, signifies Falkland's need to contain his relationship with Caleb within the bounds of a paternalistic hierarchy. And, like Mr. B—, Falkland fears the social exposure to which intimacy with a servant might lead.

Like Swift and so many other writers who see the servant's access to inside information as a threat to social hierarchy, Falkland perceives Caleb's interest in his feelings and affairs as an unbearable intrusion: "'How came this conversation?' Cried he. 'Who gave you a right to be my confident? Base, artful wretch that you are! Learn to be more respectful! Are my passions to be wound and unwound by an insolent domestic? Do you think I will be an instrument to be played on at your pleasure, till you have extorted all the treasures of my soul?'"[54] Falkland's paternalistic ideas of class difference, however benign in their intentions,[55] do not admit of intimacy between master and man. Caleb's affectionate concern can only be construed by him as a kind of theft, taking "all the treasures of my soul." At the same time, Caleb thinks that he perceives his master's longing for the very intimacy he abhors in the "silent, as well as the articulate part of the intercourse between us."[56]

On the one hand, Falkland responds—much like Mr. B— or Andrew Moreton, Defoe's fictional master—with indignation at the intrusive curiosity of domestic servants. On the other, he seems, at least from the servant's point of view, to desire the very intimacy that angers him. Caleb actively seeks to engage Falkland in personal exchanges by the expression of his own "sentiments as they arose, in the presence of Mr. Falkland": "My master seemed half inclined to encourage me, and yet doubtful whether he might venture. He had been long a stranger to pleasure of every sort, and my artless and untaught remarks appeared to promise him some amusement. Could an amusement of this sort be dangerous?"[57] Caleb theorizes that Falkland's response to his invitations to a private and personal relationship has an ambivalent sense of pleasure and danger, a mix that mirrors his own fascination with his charismatic employer. Ultimately, Caleb's theory is borne out by the novel's ending; Falkland gives in to the meeting of minds, freed of class difference and the need to maintain hierarchy. Beginning with a confession of "ardent admiration" for his master, Caleb finally extracts reciprocal recognition from Falkland.

> As I went on, he could no longer resist. He saw my sincerity; he was penetrated with my grief and compunction. He rose from his seat supported by the attendants, and—to my infinite astonishment—threw himself into my arms!
>
> Williams, said he, you have conquered! I see too late the greatness and elevation of your mind.[58]

Shared, intimate knowledge between master and man destroys both—hence, the danger—but also offers the pleasure of mutual recognition, of knowing and being known to the other. Falkland's ruling class ideology of master-servant relations prevents this recognition until it is too late, of course. The novel's servant's-eye-view allows insight into the social dynamic that encodes this relation as one of eroticized fascination coupled with attendant, violent consequences. Like Richardson's use of Pamela's letters to convey her experiences, Caleb's narrative exposes the inadequacies of class ideology to the complexity and depth of human relations. Falkland, like Mr. B—, must be "converted" to see personal worth in Caleb, instead of adhering to the class-based definition of the servant as an object of desire and fear.

Unencumbered by the constraints of feminine gender ideology, Godwin's male domestic also expresses the pleasures and desires, as well as the fears, of the servant's fictional experience. Caleb's wish to know Falkland's deepest secrets is, as many critics have pointed out,[59] articulated as sensations that approach the erotic.

> The instant I had chosen this employment [watching Falkland] for myself, I found a strange sort of pleasure in it. To do what is forbidden always has its charms, because we have an indistinct apprehension of something arbitrary and tyrannical in the prohibition. To be a spy upon Mr. Falkland! That there was danger in the employment served to give an alluring pungency to the choice. I remembered the stern reprimand I had received, and his terrible looks; and the recollection gave a kind of tingling sensation, not altogether unallied to enjoyment. The farther I advanced, the more the sensation was irresistible. I seemed to myself perpetually upon the brink of being countermined, and perpetually roused to guard my designs. The more impenetrable Mr. Falkland was determined to be, the more uncontrollable was my curiosity.[60]

Pleasure and danger infuse Caleb's desire to know his master, just as they do his perception of Falkland's feelings at the prospect of "knowing" Caleb. Comprehending more about Falkland, discovering the truth of his guilt, is for Caleb an almost orgasmic experience.

> I felt as if my animal system had undergone a total revolution. My blood boiled within me. I was conscious to a kind of rapture for which I could not account. I was solemn, yet full of rapid emotion, burning with indignation and energy. In the very tempest and hurricane of the passions, I seemed to enjoy the most soul-ravishing calm. I cannot better express the then state of my mind, than by saying, I was never so perfectly alive as at that moment.[61]

Like Amy dancing in her shift in a moment of intense intimacy with Roxana, Caleb's "rapture" signals the dangerous allure of emotional connection and shared knowledge between servant and employer. As the relationships between Pamela and Mr. B— and Amy and Roxana have shown, cross-class domestic intimacy breeds both desire and dread. Is this moment of mutual recognition and the acknowledgement of interdependence one in which differences dissolve in one big trans-cultural embrace of shared values? Or is it one of violent dissolution, the loss of identity?

In *Caleb Williams*, the answer to this question is that what could be a bond of mutual acknowledgement is, instead, the site of a violence that emanates from deep within the structures of society. For Falkland and Caleb, the embrace comes too late to prevent the physical and moral destruction of both master and man. In the novel's discarded manuscript ending, the dissolution of identity that is at stake is articulated explicitly in Caleb's final madness: "I sit in a chair in a corner, and never move hand or foot—I am like a log—I know all that very well, but I cannot help it!—I wonder which is the man, I or my chair? . . . True happiness lies in being like a stone—Nobody can complain of me—all day long I do nothing—am a stone—a GRAVE-STONE! An obelisk to tell you, HERE LIES WHAT WAS ONCE A MAN!"[62] The published conclusion arrests Falkland's defensive violence in a sort of deathbed conversion scene, a choice which foregrounds the equal victimization of both master and man in "the corrupt wilderness of human society."[63] The critique Godwin aims for is best served by this displacement of blame from the individual onto the social. Violence between employer and servant becomes, in Godwin's vision, a tragic product of bad social theory, not the result of individual deviance, as it was in Elizabeth Brownrigg's case. Falkland, corrupted by "the poison of chivalry with thy earliest youth; and the base and low-minded envy" of the English squirearchy, is as much an instrument and victim as Caleb, who renounces his desire to vindicate his "character" in the interests of a new service: "I will finish them [the pages of his narrative] that thy story may be fully understood; and that, if those errors of thy life be known which thou so ardently desiredst to conceal, the world may at least not hear and repeat a half-told and

mangled tale."[64] Through Caleb, Godwin tells the "whole story" about master-servant relations as metonymic of destructive and potentially violent relationships within society.

OUTLAWING THE FOOTMAN

If violence between masters and servants assumes a tragic mode in *Caleb Williams*, as it does in both the previously discussed *Fortunate Mistress* and the Brownrigg murder case, it takes a more comic form in *Humphry Clinker* and *Joseph Andrews*. Mock-heroic battles involving pig's blood and Humphry dragging a naked and humiliated Matt Bramble onto a public beach do not lend themselves to the earnest tone of a social critique. "Violence" is a term somewhat difficult to apply seriously to these pratfalls and practical jokes. Nonetheless, all three of these novels engage in questioning the legitimization of force deployed by employers against servants in what might be called, with a small twist on a modern Marxist historical phrasing, the criminalization of the servant class. While Fielding and Smollett do not share in Godwin's comprehensive criticism of the British legal and penal system, the three novelists represent a high level of consensus on the vulnerability of servants to false arrest and their masters' ability to manipulate a corrupt legal system to their retainers' disadvantage. Lady Booby, in collusion with Lawyer Scout, has no difficulty in having Joseph and Fanny arrested for cutting a twig off a tree on the lawyer's property.[65] However, Fielding's lovers are quickly rescued from a compliant Justice of the Peace by the benign paternalism of Squire Booby. Humphry's brush with the law puts him into serious danger of being hung as a highwayman. As Jery writes, "the poor fellow cannot possibly be guilty, and yet, I believe, he runs some risque of being hanged."[66]

In Godwin's novel, the master, rather than being a protector, is the agent of his servant's criminalization by means of social custom and a legal system that are fully as corrupt as those hinted at by Smollett or Fielding. Instead of providing a safe haven within the family, the affective connection between Falkland and Caleb jeopardizes both master and man. Falkland, threatened by his retainer's intimate knowledge, becomes a tyrant: "His own interest required that he should purchase my kindness; but he preferred to govern me by terror, and watch me with unceasing anxiety."[67] Falkland is locked into a predatory relationship toward his servant just as surely as a pre-conversion Mr. B— is toward Pamela. Like Pamela, Caleb's immediate concern in gaining his freedom from this domestic tyranny is invested in what to do with his "personal property." He conceals it in a secret hiding place out of an ill-defined and somewhat inexplicable desire: "I felt

unaccountably impelled, to remove into [a hiding place] the different articles of my personal property. I could not at present take them away with me. If I were never to recover them, I felt that it would be a gratification to my sentiment, that no trace of my existence should be found after my departure."[68] This "unaccountable" impulse contrasts sharply with Pamela's highly self-conscious, rational "accounting" for her personal property, and Caleb's "unaccountability" exposes him to the very danger against which Pamela protects herself: the charge of theft. Because of Caleb's vulnerability to crimes of property, his "unaccountability," Falkland's persecution of Caleb takes a public turn very different from Mr. B—'s private, domestic torment of Pamela. Gender defines the maid's harassment as a servant; Pamela, as we have seen, has trouble even imagining the journey home on public roads. Caleb's persecution by his master, like Joseph's expulsion from the family, puts the footman in the public sphere, a context that Caleb finds no more to his favor than Joseph, both of whom are beset by robbers on the road as they leave domestic service. In this case, however, Caleb is exposed not to theft, but to the accusation of being a thief. Having effected his escape from Falkland, he is stopped in the middle of rejoicing over his freedom from servitude—"I resolved . . . to hold myself disengaged from this odious scene, and never fill the part either of the oppressor or the sufferer"[69]—to answer the charge.

Caleb hopes truth and justice will emerge from a public engagement with Falkland during his hearing before a magistrate: "Timid and embarrassed as I had felt myself, when I regarded Mr. Falkland as my clandestine and domestic foe, I now conceived that the case was entirely altered. Meet me, said I, as an open accuser; if we must contend, let us contend in the face of day; and then, unparalleled as your resources may be, I will not fear you."[70] "The face of day" cannot shed light on Falkland's secret crime, which Caleb, bound by a sense of loyalty and honor, refuses to reveal, and the hearing ends in Caleb's commitment for trial. A fellow domestic indexes the immediacy and extent of Caleb's criminalization: "I loved you yesterday, all one as if you had been my own brother. To-day I love you so well, that I would go ten miles with all the pleasure in life to see you hanged."[71] Caleb's imprisonment, as he languishes in horrific conditions for month after month without trial, lends itself to Godwin's critique of the British penal and legal systems: "So imperfect are the effects of the boasted laws of a country whose legislators hold their assembly from four to six months in every year!"[72] Thomas, the fellow servant who would have seen Caleb hanged with "pleasure," is moved by the injustice and cruelty of Caleb's incarceration and helps Caleb escape. As Thomas says, "They told me what a fine thing it was to be an Englishman, and about liberty and property, and all that there; and I find it is

all a flam. Lord, what fools we be! Things are done under our very noses, and we know nothing of the matter; and a parcel of fellows with grave faces swear to us that such things never happen but in France, and other countries the like of that."[73] Public space, Caleb finds, is no more conducive to truth and openness than the domestic "tyranny" from which he thinks he escapes. Footmen's claims to public-sphere autonomy over much of the century—claims in cultural circulation through pamphlets on "the laws relating to masters and servants" and, more implicitly, in their fight for the Footman's Gallery—are firmly, even brutally curtailed by the British legal system in Godwin's novel.

The trials and tribulations of Godwin's servant-hero resonate with many of the discourses on domestic servants discussed in the earlier chapters of this book. Caleb's gothic persecution grows organically out of the horrors of what we might characterize in shorthand as discursive class conflict, although the latter term's black/white, us/them logic does not do justice to the complexity of relations between masters, mistresses, and servants. Indeed, there are strong parallels between Pamela's attempt to escape from her domestic prison and Caleb's detailed account of his attempts at jailbreak. Both domestics' accounts are laden with the concrete details of a body bruised and disabled in unsuccessful encounters with brick and iron. Unlike Pamela, however, Caleb finally succeeds in fleeing a physical as well as a spiritual prison. Pamela's "escape" is exclusively couched in religious terms: she evades the temptation of suicide, but not the walls that hold her in the thrall of domestic tyranny. Godwin grants his manservant both corporal escape and a secular—and highly gendered—sense of personal autonomy: "Never did man more strenuously prefer poverty with independence to the artificial allurements of a life of slavery. I stretched forth my arms with rapture, I clapped my hands one upon the other, and exclaimed, Ah, this is indeed to be a man! . . . Strange, that men from age to age should consent to hold their lives at the breath of another, merely that each in his turn may have a power of acting the tyrant according to law!"[74] Just as Caleb engages in this bit of anarchistic critique and flexes his autonomy as "man," he encounters the same problem as his predecessor, Joseph—finding himself robbed, stripped, beaten, rolled into a "dry ditch," and left for dead.

While Joseph is quickly, albeit reluctantly, taken in by the "respectable" world microcosmically represented by the stagecoach, Caleb is rescued by the better part of the robber gang, and finds himself within the criminal world of outlaws. As in *Humphry Clinker*, *The Fortunate Mistress*, and the Elizabeth Canning trial, *Caleb Williams* foregrounds the liminal position of the servant as poised between the family and the gallows. But Godwin unpacks that intermediate state, as the

above-mentioned texts do not, revealing the cultural politics behind criminalization. The thieves that both hurt and rescue Caleb "did not impose upon themselves the task, as is too often the case in human society, of seeming tacitly to approve that from which they suffered most; or, which is worse, of persuading themselves that all the wrongs they suffered were right; but were at open war with their oppressors."[75] The gang of outlaws is a mixed group, comprised of both the noble (the robber captain) and the base (the villainous Gines and the evil crone who tries to finish the job of killing Caleb). Godwin's point is that in an unjust society, the good man and the wicked alike are locked outside of respectable society by inflexible and undiscerning laws that "make" criminals as surely as individual malice does. No benign squire, as in *Joseph Andrews* and *Humphry Clinker*, can rescue the truly virtuous captain or the wronged Caleb. In fact, the squire in Godwin's novel is both a perpetuator and fellow victim of the social system that criminalizes the servant who is cast outside the stifling—yet sanctifying—boundaries of the family.

The mixture of heroism and villainy represented in the band of thieves is resonant with modern historians' characterization of the era's popular literature on criminals. As Lincoln Faller argues, criminal biography, a genre greatly in vogue over the course of the century, offers the appeal of the outlaw as a kind of plebian, cultural hero.[76] Throughout his novel, Godwin alludes to the appeal of these criminal narratives. Languishing in prison, Caleb is inspired by stories about "housebreakers to whom locks and bolts were a jest . . . There is nothing so interesting to the juvenile mind as the wonderful."[77] Tales about the exploits of outlaws, not proscriptive or religious works, feed Caleb's sense of personal autonomy. It is not coincidental that Caleb turns to such stories, read in his youth, when he becomes a hack writer while in London, hiding from Falkland's persecution. Caleb's authorship of such accounts is ironic, given that his alleged criminal exploits are increasingly "written" by popular print narratives. Criminal biography, throughout the novel, provides a discursive frame in which Caleb's individual, subjective experiences are understood and, literally at times, written by others. While it inspires and even briefly gains Caleb a living, the genre of criminal biography is yet another means by which his subjective sense of self is distorted through social convention.

While he is hiding out with the gang of thieves, Caleb's reading material is Horace, and his object of contemplation, the natural world.[78] Godwin gives his servant-hero the aesthetics of a gentleman, placing him firmly in the model of shared values and interests between master and servant. Caleb's gentle sensibilities contrast sharply with his public image, as he discovers after he leaves the

robbers and returns to London, disguised as a beggar. Eavesdropping in a public house, Caleb hears himself characterized as "the notorious housebreaker, Kit Williams": "Kit is a devilish cunning fellow, you may judge that from his breaking prison no less than five times. Till at last one squire Forester, a relation of t'other, found it all out. And he made the hell of a rumpus, and sent away Kit to prison in a twinky . . . for when two squires lay their heads together, they do not much matter law, you know; or else they twist the law to their own ends."[79] Popular legend constructs Caleb in the double-faced image of the criminal/hero; he is both a reviled transgressor ("I could forgive the fellow all his other robberies, but that he should have been so hardened as to break the house of his own master at last, that is too bad"[80]) and a sexy young hero to women such as the hostess.

> He was as handsome, likely a lad, as any in four counties round; and that she loved him for his cleverness, by which he outwitted all the keepers they could set over him, and made his way through stone walls, as if they were so many cobwebs. I observed that the country was so thoroughly alarmed, that I did not think it possible he should escape the pursuit that was set up after him. This idea excited her immediate indignation; she said, she hoped he was far enough away by this time, but, if not, she wished the curse of God might light on them that betrayed so noble a fellow to an ignominious end![81]

Caleb hears these stories with a sort of humorous detachment: "By degrees I began to be amused at the absurdity of their tales, and the variety of the falsehoods I heard asserted around me. My soul seemed to expand; I felt a pride in the self possession and lightness of heart with which I could listen to the scene."[82]

As is often the case, Caleb's sense of being separate from and superior to the discourses that define him as a criminalized servant is dashed against the power of those stories. His cover as a Jewish hack writer in London is blown by the literal power of print. Gines, the villainous thief who becomes Caleb's watchdog and nemesis, discovers him through the latter's tales. Coincidentally, the printer for Caleb's "histories of celebrated robbers," the means by which he earns his living in London, is Gines's brother. Gines becomes suspicious when his sibling tells him of his Jewish hack, and his suspicions are confirmed when he hears the subject matter of his writing, "men who died by the hands of the executioner."[83] His cover blown, Caleb's consternation is compounded by discovering a broadsheet being sold by a street hawker.

> Here you have the most wonderful and surprising history, and miraculous adventures of Caleb Williams; you are informed how he first robbed, and then

> brought false accusations against his master; as also of his attempting divers times to break out of prison, till at last he effected his escape in the most wonderful and uncredible manner; as also of his travelling the kingdom in various disguises, and the robberies he committed with a most desperate and daring gang of thieves; and of his coming up to London, where it is supposed he now lies concealed; with a true and faithful copy of the hue and cry printed and published by one of his majesty's most principal secretaries of state, offering a reward of one hundred guineas for apprehending him. All for the price of one halfpenny.[84]

In contrast to the superiority with which he hears casual gossip about his alleged exploits, Caleb is affected to the point of "despair" by the print manifestation of his criminalization: "Every word of it carried despair to my heart. The actual apprehension that I dreaded, would perhaps have been less horrible. It would have put an end to that terror to which I was a prey."[85] Caleb finds that the ultimate prison is the prison house of language: "I had gained fame indeed, the miserable fame to have my story bawled forth by hawkers and ballad-mongers, to have my praises as an active and enterprising villain celebrated among footmen and chambermaids."[86] Goaded into desperation, Caleb decides for the first time to "go public" with his master's secret in a court of law, an anticlimactic and ineffectual gesture at this point in his imposed career as a criminalized servant. Reviled as a villain and then unaccountably freed from prison, Caleb develops an "unconquerable aversion to disguise and the idea of spending my life in the personating of a fictitious character."[87] Defined by popular narratives as the gentry's villain and the servant-class's hero, Caleb discovers that he can no longer manipulate fictions of identity to his own ends and seeks, instead, a space outside those fictions where he can "be himself."

Godwin does not conceive of a manservant who could embrace the role of "an active and enterprising villain," hero to "footmen and chambermaids"; his social critique, without the framework of a self-conscious political identity, cannot incorporate a servant-class consciousness as one admirably separate from the values of the gentry. Godwin is not in a historical position to criticize the politics of the trans-cultural project we have seen in conduct and polemical literature on domestic servants, that of making the male domestic a subordinate version of his master. Caleb wants what, in Godwin's view, every man should want, the model of family that belongs to the lower gentry—the same model of family that we have seen idealized in the writings for servants by Godwin's contemporary, Sarah Trimmer. Caleb relocates to "an obscure market town in Wales," where he becomes part of

the family of Laura, an Italian nobleman's daughter who has settled among the local lower squirearchy. Here, for the first time, Caleb's longing for human connection—disappointed, successively, in Falkland, Forester (Falkland's brother), the gang of thieves, and, finally, the paternalistic London watchmaker who betrays him—finds a more likely object: "Laura treated me as if I had been one of the family, and I sometimes flattered myself that I might one day become such in reality. What an enviable resting-place for me."[88] The family—conceived in different permutations, as a haven for male domestics by Fielding, Smollett, and even the anonymous author of *Adventures of a Valet*—is also Caleb's idea of a happy ending for the manservant's "adventures." That this "family" is a class-coded construct even when it recedes into romance, as it does in Fielding, or occupies a certain shady marginality, as it does in Valet's fictional world, is less obvious in Godwin's novel than it is in Smollett's. Caleb is more fully the cultural child of the squirearchy than Humphry, and Laura's status as an Italian aristocrat complicates the matter, as if Godwin can only imagine away class differences within a family made remote and vaguely exotic. As in the case of our other footmen-heroes, however, Caleb envisions entering this family not a servant, but as a son.

> I honoured and esteemed the respectable Laura like a mother; for, though the difference of our ages was by no means sufficient to authorize the sentiment, it was irresistibly suggested to me, by the fact of her always being presented to my observation under the maternal character . . .
>
> In the eldest daughter I beheld the image of Laura; for that I felt attached to her for the present; and I sometimes conceived it probable, that hereafter I might learn to love her for her own sake.[89]

Like many of the novelists discussed in this chapter, Caleb optimistically imagines the liminal career of the manservant ending in his return as a son of the family. Instead of the outlaw, he aspires to the role of the child which, as in the case of Humphry Clinker, also prepares him for achieving manhood in the capacity of "English husband."

This happy ending is not to be for Caleb, of course, and he again finds himself "outed" by his popular-print identity. The townspeople among whom he lives inexplicably start refusing his company as well as his skills as a watchmaker, the means by which he has earned a living. The crushing blow to Caleb's hopes for family comes when Laura rejects him, forbidding him access to herself and her children: "Is it possible you should have violated the most sacred of all trusts, and have led me unknowingly to admit to the intercourse of my children, a character,

which if, as you pretend, it is substantially honest, you cannot deny to be blasted and branded in the face of the whole world? Go, sir, I despise you. You are a monster, and not a man."[90] Caleb understands the cause of this rejection when he discovers that itinerant bricklayers have brought to his remote village "the very paper of the Wonderful and Surprising History of Caleb Williams."[91] The public image of the manservant as criminal alienates him from the family: "But what was of greatest importance, and made the deepest impression upon my mind, was my separation from the family of Laura . . . It was now first that I felt, with the most intolerable acuteness, how completely I was cut off from the whole human species . . . The pride of philosophy has taught us to treat man as an individual. He is no such thing. He holds, necessarily, indispensibly, to his species."[92] Despite the acuity of Godwin's social critique, the only safe haven that Caleb, like his predecessors from Joseph to Humphry, can imagine is the affective connection of family. Unlike his precursors, however, Godwin's protagonist is denied the final solution of love.

Pushed to the point of "insanity" by this alienation, Caleb makes a last grab at his lost role as child within the family when a chance meeting brings him to plead with his old mentor Collins to help him preserve his story, the counter to "the Wonderful and Surprising History": "My father! Exclaimed I, embracing one of his knees with fervour and delight, I am your son! Once your little Caleb, whom you a thousand times loaded with your kindness!" Caleb's final chance at defining himself against the criminalized servant he has become in the eyes of the world rests in his return, in some form, to his status as child: "But remember—you are my father still!—I conjure you, by all the love you ever bore me, by the benefits you have conferred on me . . . listen to my last request! Preserve these papers from destruction, and preserve them from Falkland!"[93] Despite Godwin's critical stance towards British social and economic institutions, he is unable to conceive of an identity for the manservant that lies outside the binary of outlaw or child of the family. Significantly, the role of "English husband" exists only in Caleb's vague hope of displacing his love for the motherly Laura onto her daughter. The masculine autonomy of this role is utterly denied to Caleb, who ends as a complete victim of society, despite his dreams of individual freedom. Driven to desperation by social and economic oppression, Caleb is correct in his "foreboding" that he "should never again be master of myself."[94] Godwin does not portray the self-mastery implicit in the role of "English husband" as a possibility for the manservant who is defined by strong discourses as either outlaw or child. He sees no culturally legible construction for the servant's agency beyond these roles, so his story cannot end happily in the footman's marriage. For Godwin, the love be-

tween master and man, while powerful, is more a part of the problem of social inequity than a solution to it. In Caleb's and Falkland's world, the eroticism between them can only be destructive; the hoped-for embrace of mutual recognition across class differences comes too little and too late in Godwin's preferred ending. The pleasure of knowing "the other" man is socially channeled into violence, or is relegated to a single climactic act of love before death.

Unlike *Joseph Andrews* and *Humphry Clinker*, *Caleb Williams* renders marriage—indeed, heterosexuality—almost irrelevant to the novel's sense of what matters in the social order. The connection between master and manservant is the heart of all societal relations. Godwin's focus on the destructive/redemptive nature of this relationship is not altogether different, however, from Smollett's vision of Matt and Humphry as the kernel from which the extended family grows. The heterosexual couplings proliferating at the end of *Humphry Clinker* expand and support, rather than displace, the importance of the bond between Matt and his servant-son. Furthermore, while Caleb's and Falkland's last desperate embrace may seem remote from the domestic happiness of Joseph and Fanny, it might also be read as a more direct, explicit version of the connection made between Joseph, the narrator, and the implied reader in their mutual appreciation of Fanny's beauty. The imperative of imagining the affections that hold men together across differences in social status demands, in *Joseph Andrews* and *Humphry Clinker*, either the erotic objectification or the comic domination of a woman. Godwin, remarkably, foregoes this heterosexual mediation to situate the love and hate between his male protagonists in the shared forms of literacy and conflicting class ideologies of their time and place. Women are fleeting distractions from the main business of homosocial negotiation: they either die, like Emily, as casualties incidental to male-male conflict or, like Laura, are mere instruments of the plot by which one man tries to destroy another. The real object of male desire in Godwin's novel is the man defined as other by class difference. Godwin's ability to cut through the heterosexual window-dressing of his predecessors may have had as much to do with the growing historical distance between his novel and Fielding's magnetic stage footman as with the political influence of Jacobinism, with its focus on fraternal, lateral social relations between men.

Only the non-canonical and little-read *Adventures of a Valet* offers an alternative to the novel's dominant vision, in this period, of social order based on a trans-class homosocial bonding that is, in turn, mediated through heterosexual exchange. True love, in *Valet*, happens neither in marriage nor in homosocial bonding, but between a brother and sister whose capacity for mutual pleasure mysteriously transcends the most pervasive and stringent of sexual boundaries, the

incest taboo. Significantly, the female protagonist, Mrs. Love, escapes both erotic objectification and comic abjection. As her name implies, she is, simply, embodied comfort and pleasure, another body to be close to in "a Haven doubly welcome after a Life of Storms." Her femaleness is more or less irrelevant to Valet's happy ending. The lack of clear gender roles and the absence of sexual desire in the pleasures that occur at the close this novel are significant omissions: Valet's sexual adventures end in a family very different from the reproductive partnerings of Fanny and Joseph, and Humphry and Win. Without the imperative of trans-class homosociality, the urgency of portraying a male's superiority over his woman in this story about a manservant lessens. What is suggested by Valet's escape from conventional heterosexuality is that a universal masculinity, creating homosocial connection across class lines through heterosexual dominance, was not the only solution to the "problem" of the manservant's ambiguous sexuality at midcentury. It was not, however, a solution that made it into the preponderance of narratives from that period about relationships between masters and servants.

The other works discussed here are not, of course, a point of origin for masculine sexual dominance over women. However, the British novel's rewriting of the midcentury stage footman reveals the particular stakes of such power at this specific historical juncture. The struggle to imagine a masculinity transcendent of class is, in fact, a struggle for connection between men. Godwin's love story between a male domestic and his employer makes this implicit agenda explicit. Menservants and their masters constitute a site of emotional intimacy within the family, one that was imagined in the novel and, perhaps, seen in life. This relationship between socially different men is charged with both affection and fear, the result of personal intimacy blended with conflicting individual interests. Love between men, Eve Sedgwick tells us, is at the heart of the heterosexual contract.[95] The novelistic footmen studied in this chapter demonstrate the importance of class distinctions to the historical formation of a universal masculinity predicated on both homosocial attachment and heterosexual dominance. The relationship between master and manservant provided the conditions of intimacy and difference within the early modern family in which this universal took root.

Conclusion

Notes of a Footman on the "Servant Problem," 1790

This study ends by stepping from fiction to a memoir, the autobiographical travel narrative of John Macdonald, a career servant. This text, currently available through an edition in the Broadway Travellers Series, was originally entitled *Travels*. It was not a popular book at the time of its first publication, going through only one edition, "printed for the Author, and sold by J. Forbes, Covent Garden, 1790."[1] John Beresford, who is responsible for both the book's re-titling as *Memoirs of an Eighteenth-Century Footman* and its introduction, proposes that the year 1790 (four years before the publication of *Caleb Williams*) was not a propitious one for memoirs by footmen. Indeed, the text, particularly under the innocuous title *Travels*, does not readily lend itself to any of the political classifications of post–French Revolution England. Its current scholarly reception makes it similarly hard to classify, although for different reasons. When I taught this text in a seminar that included scholars from the fields of history and literary studies, it was reviled by the historians as "written for money" and therefore obviously pandering to audience tastes and, presumably, stereotypes about servants. It was embraced by the literary scholars for the same reasons. While I affirm my historian colleagues' skepticism, my literary colleagues' enthusiasm for what this text can tell us about an individual's manipulation of cultural tropes and stereotypes provides the energy behind this concluding chapter. Whatever the text's questionable status as the record of a manservant's experience, it is suggestive of how a highly literate domestic worker drew on popular conceptions of and attitudes toward male servants' sexuality, gendered individualism, and intimacy with their masters.

Macdonald acts out the role of a sexually charismatic footman, the bane of

good families in "the servant problem" literature and the ambiguously attractive figure strutting on the London stage at midcentury. He is "Beau Macdonald," the ladies' man, who works only for unmarried employers because his sexual magnetism is out of place in conjugal domesticity. He also presents himself as a loyal companion and confidante to his masters; Macdonald and each of his male employers collude in the sexual consumption and enjoyment of women, a shared interest which in turn reinforces the bond between the two men. He combines, then, the erotic entrepreneurship of the sexy footman with the ideal partnership between master and man. The *Memoirs*, however, also reveal how this male retainer's robust individualism conflicts with the intimate connection between master and man. Macdonald runs through twenty-eight different employers between 1747 and 1779, and his motives for changing his "place" are always related to his sexual, social, or financial independence. He leaves masters for four reasons: they marry and are no longer candidates for sharing Macdonald's life of sexual exploration; for more money; because he and his employer disagree over "prerogatives," especially his right to castoff clothing; and, finally, once he has had a taste of travel, to enjoy the expanded horizons that foreign expeditions give the manservant.

Macdonald's highly gendered individualism in multiple domains is both the bond that he shares with his masters and what breaks it. His masculine identity proves too much for this homosocial partnership, and Macdonald leaves service, like his dramatic and novelistic predecessors, for marriage. The union between master and man that lies at the affective core of many depictions of male servants in the novel is displaced here by a tale of self-conscious entrepreneurial performance that combines universal male privilege with an exotic otherness. Macdonald creates a highly stylized masculinity that adds cosmopolitan improvements to the "English husband" of Fielding's *Miss Lucy* plays. Scottish by birth and "French" by his fashion sense, Macdonald spends much of his life on the European continent and in India, marries a Spaniard, expatriates, and disappears into a future wholly severed from the British Isles and his past as a liveried retainer. The sense of personal autonomy Macdonald shares with his fictional brother of the 1790s, Caleb Williams, propels him out of the novel's dream of emotional intimacy between master and man and into a narrative of masculine self-invention that may be just as much fantasy, but opens up very different channels for the male servant's leveling energies. If Caleb embodies the contradiction between homosocial longing and individualism, MacDonald neatly subsumes homosociality within a long career of sexual and economic entrepreneurship.

THE "ENGLISH HUSBAND" REVISITED

As early as age fourteen, Macdonald begins accumulating a reputation as a ladies' man: "It became a byword among the servants that the chambermaid and the old wheels became Jack Macdonald's perquisites."[2] Having established quite a sexual track record—including fathering an illegitimate child—while still in his teens, Macdonald cultivates the familiar image of the well-groomed, sexually magnetic footman: "I have often heard the ladies say, as they were walking along the streets of Edinburgh, one to another: 'Is that him?' 'Yes,' says another. I always went very clean, for I delighted in dress and powder. My name was commonly the French Macdonald."[3] His employers tire of having to replace chambermaids that he has "ruined," however, and a pattern begins. The footman's sexual reputation propels him to travel in order to find a place that will accommodate it. His notoriety as a homewrecker works against him keeping his post, even when (if he is to be believed) his behavior does not. Macdonald seeks a way out of the trap of his own sexual charisma by working exclusively for unmarried men. As Major Joass, his first single gentleman master, explains, "I shall take you for my servant, for you must live with a single gentleman; no family will admit you to their house." Macdonald's sexual reputation, a liability in his former position as servant to a married couple, is even construed as an asset by his new employer: "I like a man that is given to women—that is gentleman-like—but to drink and swear is to be a blackguard."[4] Macdonald's "gentleman-like" amorousness is a toehold in the homosocial terrain shared by master and man.

Indeed, sexuality creates a socially visible bond between the two: " 'Ever since the Major came here, our young ladies lock themselves in their rooms: is it for fear of the Major or his man?' It went round the table as a joke."[5] Macdonald tells us that at bedtime, Joass asks him, " 'John, which of the ladies took your fancy?' 'Miss Fairly, sir.' 'I'll be damned but that is the one I took notice of'; and he laughed heartily, for he was of that free and merry turn. I never knew him angry in my life. Often, after he was in bed, he would make me stand half an hour speaking about things, after I had got the candle in my hand to go out of the room."[6] Like Fielding and his readers, joined in appreciation of Fanny's charms, the Major and Macdonald share an intimacy based on homosocial pleasure in feminine beauty. The bond between master and man, founded on masculine sexual and social privilege is, however, fragile and contingent, and does not prevent Macdonald's peripatetic employment habits. When Joass is going to be married, Macdonald terminates their relationship in a businesslike way, adhering to his resolve to live only with single masters: " 'Sir, I hear you are going to be married to Miss Abercromby, and,

sir, servants that live with single gentlemen are not good family servants; so, sir, if you please to get a servant by the fifteenth of May, and I shall go a little further.' He was sorry to take my warning; but reason bore the sway: he was reconciled at last, and hired a servant in the country."[7] The homosocial contract between employer and retainer is not based on enduring affection. Instead, it is a serial commitment predicated on both of them remaining sexual entrepreneurs, rather than investing in "the property" of husbands.

Later in his career, Macdonald not only chooses to work for unmarried men who allow him entry into the life of a gentleman's gentleman, but specifically targets jobs that allow him to travel. At one point, he leaves a good place in order to journey with another employer to India, telling his hurt and angry master that he "would not leave him upon any account but to go to India."[8] As will be discussed later in this conclusion, the reasons for Macdonald's growing passion for travel involve expanding opportunities off English soil for creating more powerful and satisfying parts to play and experiences for himself. His exploration of masculine sexual roles finally ends, as with the other footmen in this study, in marriage—with a difference. In Spain, Macdonald has a child by Malilia, the daughter of a hotel owner. Returning to England, he arranges for her to join him there, but when her mother pleads with her to remain in Toledo, she writes to Macdonald that her family "can do better for [Macdonald] than his living in service and going round the country; so, my dear husband, if you will be condescending to this request, we shall be all happy. If you do not choose to come, let me know your commands, and I will fulfil them if it was at the peril of my life . . . when you see me again, I shall be the mother of two children. Your son is a fine boy; everyone here calls him 'the little Englishman.' "[9] Macdonald ends his memoir and, as far as the reader can tell, his travels by assuming the roles of husband and father, transplanted to Spanish soil: "My wife was brought to bed, in a week after, of another boy. I said to myself: 'The Macdonalds grow in Spain.' "[10]

Macdonald's amatory career shares many of the elements seen in fictional footmen on the stage and in the novel. His sexual magnetism is both a strength and a liability, as it lends him masculine power that is, however, never fully under his control. His enthusiastic erotic practices gain him admission into a trans-class masculine culture predicated on the enjoyment of women, and create an intimate, even affectionate relationship between him and his employer. Like all but one of the fictional footmen (Valet), his career ends in marriage, but unlike his invented brethren, Macdonald's ascension to the status of husband is incompatible with the homosocial bond between master and man. The footman not only leaves service, but also leaves England in order to establish his identity as a manly

spouse. Both of these departures are significant swerves, rather than entirely new developments, in the career trajectory of domestic service as conceived of in the fictional manservant. While the former harks back to Joseph Andrews, an echo that resonates more loudly because of the two footmen's respective origins in the gentry,[11] the latter suggests literally new territory for the concept of universal masculinity grounded in the identity of "an English husband." First, Macdonald is Scottish, not English, despite Malilia's report on "the little Englishman." Like Matt Brambles's blended family—containing members of Scots, Welsh, and English extraction and of several different classes—at the end of *Humphry Clinker*, Macdonald's husbandly role loosens the national definition of what can pass as family and as authoritatively male. Second, the *Memoirs* allow for the transnational, or at least colonialist imagining of a masculinity that defies, and indeed thrives in defying, national borders. It is a manliness that is transportable and reproducible outside of England and, strictly speaking, may not even need to be English. Like Fielding's Thomas, Macdonald is at least partially a product of his moment in history, and just as the former filled the representational space of sexuality created by public ambivalence over the manservant's social status, Macdonald may have entered that space at a time when a masculinity that was transcendent of nationality as well as of class became imaginable.

THE FOOTMAN AS ENTREPRENEUR

The growing clan of Macdonalds in Spain suggests a new motility to the footman's character that comes as less of a surprise after his multiple positions and decisions to "give warning." Macdonald's career demonstrates a self-contained autonomy firmly grounded in economic individualism, rather than in a sense of place or familial loyalty. More like Valet than Joseph, Humphry, or even Caleb, Macdonald is, first and last, motivated by personal profit, not affiliation with a close-knit household. Put to service as a young boy, he understandably leaves his first job at a livery stable because his employer beats him and confiscates his tips. He finds himself on a better footing working under the coachman of a family who takes seriously its responsibilities for educating its child servants: "When Mr. Hamilton and Lady Anne were informed that I was desirous to learn to read, they put me to school, as there was not much to do, only when the coach-and-six was wanted or when any of the young ladies went home or a visiting; . . . I got reading, writing, and arithmetic."[12] Macdonald is grateful for his education, but his desire for personal gain is stronger than any quasi-filial gratitude, and conflicts over money arise between him and John Bell, the coachman under whom he works:

"The coachman became jealous, and gave me a flogging; for, when he was out with the coach-and-four horses, he thought I did not give all the vails I got when I gave gentlemen their horses."[13] Bell rationalizes his treatment of Macdonald by explaining to the boy that, as part of a large household that includes the families of servants, he will eventually get back what is taken from him: "When I came home, John Bell would ask me what I had got. I commonly denied that I had got anything; but he searched my pocket and told me he would take care of it; and that he would give me his daughter when we grew up, so that it would be all the same to me when I had her for a wife; and he desired me to mark it all down."[14] Macdonald is impatient with his place as child in the family pecking order, however, and leaves for a position in which he does not have to share his tips: "I liked this place, as I was to have no servant over me."[15] His mistress, surprised and annoyed at his leaving, reflects the contradiction between her perception of Macdonald "in the posture of children" and his role as laborer for hire: "It is very odd, after rearing him six years and giving him education, to let him go, and hire one in his place, and me never to hear anything of it."[16] Macdonald's career, even as a child servant, demonstrates a tension between familial affiliation and personal independence. The footman presents this conflict without apology. Instead of seeking resolution in the intimacy between servant and master, Macdonald embarks on a career of searching for better and better opportunities not only for financial profit, but for the creation of his own masculine image.

FASHIONING THE FOOTMAN

Macdonald's desire for financial autonomy is motivated by a sense of identity more complex than the greed attributed to grasping servants by "the servant problem" literature. It is core to his self-image. Its materialistic nature is manifested most clearly in his attitude toward and use of clothes—in short, his fashion sense. Clothing is one of the most important ways in which Macdonald styles a masculine public identity. As *Pamela* illustrates, garments were a large part of the eighteenth-century British servant's financial base, as well as a critical part of the servant's self-image. They are also the target of multiple complaints about servants resisting their "place" in the family and social order by dressing above their station. Polemical literature on "the servant problem" is filled with diatribes against servants' "dressing up" to appear like their masters. Swift mockingly addresses the footman: "You are the fine Gentleman of the Family, with whom all the Maids are in Love. You are sometimes a Pattern of Dress to your Master, and sometimes he is so to you."[17] The costume of the maid—with access to her

mistress's castoff fripperies and, perhaps, the finery of London markets—figures prominently in Defoe's angry criticisms of London servants,[18] and is so much a cliché that Henry Fielding incorporates her in the character of Molly Seagrim, Tom Jones's first love. Manuals for domestics consistently warn women against dressing too fine;[19] the "round-eared cap" so beloved by Richardson's Pamela emerges in conduct material as a standard indicator of the female servant's condition in life. Defoe, writing early in the century, wishes that the costume of women in service could be regularized like children's: "Our charity children are distinguished by their dress, why then may not our women-servants?"[20] Calls for "a distinct Dress for Servants," legislated by law, are not uncommon,[21] but are rarely successful. While servants dressing above their station is a "problem" that concerns both male and female domestics, men figure more ambiguously than women. Swift's stylish footman, like *Miss Lucy*'s Thomas, has a certain, admittedly problematic appeal, very different from the sluttish maid tricked out in her mistress's castoff finery, and Defoe's exclusive focus on regulating *women* servants' garments is telling. Just as menservants' "rights" to the Footman's Gallery sparked both resentment and a certain grudging respect, their "rights" to cross-class dressing are viewed with more ambivalence than those of their female counterparts. Macdonald invests in finery both as financial capital and as the primary medium for his art of self-fashioning.

Clothing is so important a part of the footman's financial base that he readily leaves a good master and an easy place rather than give up his "perquisites" to his master's castoffs.

> My master desired to see his clothes, and he put them into different lots. When he had put them properly together, he called me, and said, "John, pack up these clothes for me to wear in Europe; and those others I shall give to such and such persons, and a few things that lie on the floor, of very little value—you may take them." "Sir," replied I, "if I remember right, you said I should have your old clothes; I did not think you would use me like a boy." "So you don't choose to take those things?" "Yes, sir, I will." "I see, John, you and I will not agree together, so provide yourself." "Sir," I replied, "I thought I might speak what I have said." "I see we cannot, John, so provide yourself with a master, and you shall go this day" . . . So I left the Colonel in 1772, after living with him fifteen months as well as a king; and during that time I had as much pleasure as ever a man had.[22]

For Macdonald, loyalty to his employer is beside the point. He regrets losing his easy and luxurious life as the Colonel's personal servant, but not the Colonel. His

right to his master's valuable castoff clothing is too significant a source of income to give up. However, such garments are more than inert wealth for Macdonald. Through his employers' castoffs, Macdonald finds the means to self-protection and even to a kind of power. While many years of Macdonald's career were probably spent in the livery of his masters, his autobiography stresses his sartorial performances of masculine identity in the clothing of his "betters."

The *Memoirs* shows a great self-consciousness about the communicative power of dress and the male retainer's difficulties in controlling it. Out of work, Macdonald interviews for one place "very well dressed, with a gold-laced vest and other things in form," and learns from another servant who gets the position that his employer "said you were more like a gentleman than a servant; now, I am plain dressed, and I have got the place." Learning from this mistake, Macdonald goes to his next interview "dressed plain, without lace." The domestic who told him about the position apologizes for not advising him "to dress yourself finer, for Sir Francis is very nice." Going after a third position, Macdonald is again refused, and he tells us that "three days after I saw the servant that sent me after the place, who said: 'I am sorry you went dressed in a gold-laced waistcoat. Against the candle light it made a more rich appearance. She said you were too grand for a family servant.' I said to myself: ' A man does not know what to do for the best in this world.' "[23] Within the English class system, but out of livery, the manservant's garments code him in ways he cannot fully control. Macdonald approaches this rhetorical difficulty with a weary realism, countered, however, by the proud resolve of a true clothes-artist.

One of the reasons that Macdonald is drawn to posts that take him to the Continent and India is the many expanded opportunities for successful cross-class dressing that foreign travel affords. Journeying in France for the first time, Macdonald "lost no time to improve myself. My master gave me a suit of French clothes, hardly to be known as livery; so I became entirely the Frenchman."[24] Macdonald finds more range for his sartorial self-styling when abroad than when in England. In India, an outpost on the periphery of English civilization, Macdonald masquerades most successfully in outfits best characterized as colonial, trans-class pastiche. He depends on the traditional servant's privilege of perquisites—the rights to his master's castoff clothing—to craft this image. "The Colonial gave me an old coat. I cut off the skirts and made it a short coat, which with the turban [a gift from an Indian host] looked better than" the appearance his master had made in the original outfit. Macdonald's sartorial masquerade as an upper-class Englishman is enabled by the glamorous setting of a colonial ball. A fellow servant reports that he "heard Miss De la Guarde ask the General what gentleman

that was in the green and gold. 'Madam, that is John Macdonald, Colonel Dow's servant.' The broad gold lace, though tarnished by day, shone among so many lights."[25] As an Indian servant later tells Macdonald, "they think you are a gentleman because you are dressed in scarlet and that fine gold-lace hat . . . in this country they think every one that wears scarlet and gold to be a great man."[26] Similarly, in Spain, Macdonald borrows the luster of his master's garb in order to shine in public: "Great respect is paid to gold lace; and I was mistaken, at the inns, for Sir John."[27] Macdonald's outfits are most successful at the social leveling they aim for when he is abroad. In London, Macdonald takes a more subtle strategy to fashion an image that reaches beyond his station as a domestic servant.

Macdonald achieves his greatest London success in cross-class masquerade by assuming a public image of radical foreignness. When out of service, Macdonald tells us that he assumes the garb of a gentleman: "Having good clothes, with rich vests, I wore my hanger, a silk bag at my hair, and laced ruffles." His greatest affectation, however, is the custom, hitherto rare in London, of carrying an umbrella. As this passage contains what is, perhaps, Macdonald's greatest claim to public fame, it bears quoting at length.

> If it rained, I wore my fine silk umbrella: then the people would call after me: "What, Frenchman, why do you not get a coach?" In particular, the hackney coachmen and hackney chairmen would call after me; but I, knowing the men well, went straight on, and took no notice. At this time there was no umbrellas worn in London, except in noblemen's and gentlemen's houses; where there was a large one hung in the hall, to hold over a lady or gentleman if it rained, between the door and their carriage. I was going to dine in Norfolk Street, one Sunday. It rained; my sister had hold of my arm; and I had the umbrella over our heads. In Tavistock Street we met so many young men, calling after us: "Frenchman! Take care of your umbrella." "Frenchman, why do you not get a coach, Monsieur?" My sister was so much ashamed that she quitted my arm and ran on before, but I still took no notice but answered in French or Spanish that I did not understand what they said. I went on so for three months, till they took no further notice of me, only "How do you do Frenchman?" After this the foreigners, seeing me with my umbrella, one after another used theirs—then the English. Now it is become a great trade in London, and a very useful branch of business. When I went to a public-house where servants meet in the evenings I was called by the name of "Beau Macdonald" the "Scotch Frenchman."[28]

In this extraordinary passage, Macdonald adds trans-national to cross-class masquerade, speaking French or Spanish. Instead of becoming an Englishman

among Englishmen, as in India, he becomes a foreigner among other umbrella-carrying foreigners in England. Then, in trendsetting, stunning defiance of "Englishness," Macdonald redefines the non-native custom of carrying an umbrella on the street (as opposed to retaining one in aristocratic homes only for use at the door) as quintessentially English, "a great trade in London, and a very useful branch of business." As John Beresford, Macdonald's modern editor, tells us, Macdonald's otherwise forgotten *Travels* was memorialized by William Sangster, "the learned and witty author of *Umbrellas and their History* (first published in 1855)."[29] Through his strategic, cosmopolitan self-styling, Macdonald is, ironically, associated with that most potent image of upper-class British respectability, the umbrella-toting Englishman.

By investing his self-image in manipulations of style that cannily cross the boundaries of nation, class, and (in the case of his Indian turban) race, Macdonald creates a place for himself in British fashion history. The paradoxical sexuality of *Miss Lucy*'s Thomas and many other representations of footman as virile sex objects, including Macdonald himself, takes on a different form of public circulation in the richer, more cosmopolitan commodity culture of late eighteenth-century London. The manservant's ambiguous sexuality turns to innovative style, a way of dressing that announces his independence from—even as it draws on—class- and nation-based identity. Masculinity, for Macdonald, is not only manifest in the strong body of the liveried servant, as it was for Fielding, but is assembled into a fashion image. It becomes style, a performance that is repeatable and malleable, but not without its predetermined conventions and limits. What Macdonald makes of himself depends on the short history of male servants' public images that was traced in this study, from Swift's sexually and financially predatory travesty of a good domestic to the manly and attractive Joseph Andrews.

CONCLUSION

Macdonald's sister is too "ashamed" to participate in his public performances of self-styled, hybrid masculinity. Men, not women, are the ones who act out innovative gendered identities in his servant's-eye-view of the world. It is Pamela, however, with whom this study begins, and it is important to remember her sartorial efforts as attempts at fashioning a new kind of gendered identity, born of an intimacy that crosses the lines of class difference within the eighteenth-century British family. If her first masquerade as a simple country girl, free of the sophisticated fashions worn by servants of the gentry, is something of a false start, her appearances in that garb as Mr. B—'s wife before his neighbors and friends seem

to make strong claims for a femininity desirable in its essence yet highly conscious of a fascination with distinctions in rank.[30] The imperative of a shared culture that comprehends master, mistress, maid, and manservant creates opportunities for gendered identities and sexualities that are amalgamations of class-specific customs, codes, fashions, aesthetics, and ethics. Many of the representations of footmen and maidservants in this study portray masculinity and femininity as ideals attainable across class divisions, a sort of literary leveling that takes place at the most intimate points of contact between family members. Love—of many different types—between servants and their employers in the literature studied here compels the imagining of masculinity and femininity as gendered concepts that cross the lines of class difference within the family even as they grow out of that difference. Pamela and Mr. B—, Humphry Clinker and Matt Bramble, and Caleb and Falkland all articulate ways of envisioning the intimacy between master and servant that necessitate, in different ways and degrees, some concept of gender that depends on, even as it floats free from, differentiations in rank.

At the same time, the leveling energy generated by the intimacy of domestic affairs between servants and employers can take the form of murder and perversion. In Amy and Roxana, Defoe imagines a bond between mistress and maid whose power is both inevitable and destructive. The lethal efficiency of a partnership between women results in the most intimate of connections, but it also threatens a violence that betrays the mandate for women to nurture and care for their children. This fear explodes into the horror of Elizabeth Brownrigg's brutality against her young women apprentices. The intimacy between servant and employer that can result in love, good household management, and financial productivity can also cause abuse and the construction of a "deviant" sexual identity to account for that abuse. While it is not surprising that both hetero-normativity and "deviance" take root in the early modern family, the contribution that this study makes to histories of sexuality and gender is the modest but often ignored point that the relationships comprising this family must comprehend those of labor as well as kinship. Acknowledging the importance of servants to models of human development within the family has been scaring off theorists of education and psychology since John Locke. The history of pedagogy is littered with fears about domestics teaching "our" children the wrong things, from Locke's warnings to keep children away from servants to Freud's unscrupulous nursemaid fondling the genitals of her infant charge to keep him or her quiet. But the connections between employers and retainers would seem to run deeper than children picking up habits of masturbation and swearing from the servants who so often care for them. If domestics are factored out of the family from which modern theories of gender and sexuality

derive, large parts of the historical process by which those theories have become naturalized categories of gender and sexual identity will be lost. The bonds and the conflicts formed by labor relations within the early modern family contributed to powerful ways of conceiving of men and women and the desires that define their gender and sexuality. Pamela and Mr. B—, Amy and Roxana, the century's myriad "Thomases" and their varying relations with masters and mistresses, Elizabeth Brownrigg and Mary Clifford, Humphry and Matt, and Caleb and Falkland are all experiments in imagining intense emotional and sexual connections and conflicts that have little to do with biology, or even kinship as it is traditionally defined. The modern family is not and never has been based exclusively on one kind of human relationship. Rather, it is the amalgamation of many, most of them outside the boundaries of companionate marriage and the biological tie between parent and child.

This page intentionally left blank

Notes

CHAPTER 1. THE "SERVANT PROBLEM" AND THE FAMILY

1. Race is obviously another key term in modern analyses of the eighteenth century, one that is perceptively deployed, for example, in the work of Roxann Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000); Vincent Carretta, *Equiano the African: Biography of a Self-Made Man* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2005); and Vincent Carretta and Philip Gould, eds., *Genius in Bondage: Literature of the Early Black Atlantic* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2001). Early modern "discoveries" of racial differences and, most crucially, African chattel slavery brought a whole new set of terms to the process by which social identities come to be figured during this period. Another book needs to be written about the historical intersections and divergences of British domestic service and chattel slavery. I would have liked to add, for example, a chapter on the autobiography of Mary Prince to this study. I beg the reader's patience in viewing this book as a first step in the direction of including relationships between servants and their employers within the, for now, privileged terms of class, gender, and sexuality.

2. On the matter of identity, see Deidre Shauna Lynch, *The Economy of Character: Novels, Market Culture, and the Business of Inner Meaning* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998) and Dror Wahlman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004). Naomi Tadmor provides some solid historical framing for understanding the eighteenth-century family in *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship, and Patronage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). For readings of the novel in relation to the history of the family, see Christopher Flint, *Family Fictions: Narrative and Domestic Relations in Britain, 1688–1798* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998) and Ruth Perry, *Novel Relations: The Transformation of Kinship in English Literature and Culture, 1748–1818* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). Michael McKeon's massive *The Secret History of Domesticity: Public, Private, and the Division of Knowledge* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005) integrates discussions of identity and the family into his comprehensive study of domesticity in this period.

3. Perry.

4. McKeon, pp. 231–32.

5. Bruce Robbins, *The Servant's Hand: English Fiction from Below* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), p. 22.

6. Tadmor, p. 35.

7. Wahlman.

8. Perry, p. 2. For interesting work on the education of children, see Andrew O'Malley, *The Making of the Modern Child: Children's Literature and Childhood in the Late Eighteenth Century* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

9. Wahlman.

10. McKeon, p. 691.

11. This observation is the starting point of Bridget Hill's book on the subject, *Servants: English Domestics in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996). J. Jean Hecht also documents frequent complaints over the state of domestic servants in *The Domestic Servant Class in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1956), a book which is still arguably the premier source of information about the perception and conditions of domestic servants in England during this period. In one of the best literary treatments of servants in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Bruce Robbins observes that "there was in fact a sudden and well-documented new anxiety on the part of masters and mistresses about the damage that servant spies and informants could do" (*Servant's Hand*, p. 108).

12. Daniel Defoe, *Religious Courtship* (Oxford: D. A. Talboys for Thomas Tegg, 1840), pp. 290, 353.

13. Samuel Richardson, *The Apprentice's Vade Mecum: or, Young Man's Pocket-Companion* (London: J. Roberts, 1734). Reprint by the Augustan Reprint Society, Publication Numbers 169–70 (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1975), p. v. Subsequent references are to this reprint.

14. Ruth Perry's study of the family in fiction situates the novel's treatment of familial relations in the contexts of enclosure, urbanization, and the shift from a traditional agrarian culture to one driven by trade as much as agriculture. See her *Novel Relations*, pp. 1–42.

15. Thomas Seaton, *The Conduct of Servants in Great Families* (London: Tim. Goodwin, 1720). Reprint (New York: Garland Publishing, 1985), p. 115. Subsequent references are to this reprint.

16. Daniel Defoe, *The Great Law of Subordination Consider'd; or, the insolence and unsufferable behaviour of servants in England duly enquir'd into* (London: S. Harding, 1724), p. 86.

17. Daniel Defoe, *The Behaviour of Servants in England Inquired into* (London: H. Whittridge, n.d.), p. 17.

18. Jonas Hanway, *Advice from Farmer Trueman to his Daughter, Mary, upon Her going to Service* (London: B. Boothroyd, 1805), p. 142.

19. Thomas Broughton, *Serious Advice and Warning to Servants, More Especially Those of the Nobility and Gentry*, 8th ed. (London: F. C. and J. Rivington, 1815), p. 10.

20. Tadmor, p. 28.

21. McKeon, p. 132.

22. Jürgen Habermas historically situates this emergence of a public sphere in early eighteenth-century British culture. See his *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger, with the assistance of Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989). McKeon gives a recent and more nuanced rewriting of Habermas's ideas in his *Secret History of Domesticity*, pp. 48, 75–76, 110.

23. *Great Law of Subordination*, p. 139.

24. Eliza Haywood, *A Present for a Servant-Maid: Or, the Sure means of gaining Love and Esteem* (Dublin: George Falkner, 1743), p. 3.

25. *Great Law of Subordination*, p. 141.

26. Judith Frank, *Common Ground: Eighteenth-Century English Satiric Fiction and the Poor* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997).

27. E. P. Thompson, Peter Linebaugh, and Douglas Hay offer classic accounts of the historical process by which English laborers and lower artisans were subjected to proliferating discourses and institutions of criminalization over the course of the century. See Thompson's *Whigs and Hunters: The Origin of the Black Act* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1975); Linebaugh's *The London Hanged: Crime and Civil Society in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); and Hay's *Albion's Fatal Tree: Crime and Society in Eighteenth-Century England* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1975).

28. We see the slippage from servant to thief and whore in Defoe, particularly in his *Behaviour of Servants* and *Great Law of Subordination*. Jonathan Swift also makes the connection between male servants and highwaymen in *Directions to Servants in General* (London: R. Dodsley, 1745): "To grow old in the Office of a Footman, is the highest of all Indignities: Therefore when you find Years coming on, without Hopes of a Place at Court, a Command in the Army, a Succession to the Stewardship, an Employment in the Revenue (which two last you cannot obtain without Reading and Writing) or running away with your Master's Niece or Daughter; I directly advise you to go upon the Road, which is the only post of Honour left you: Therefore you will meet many of your old Comrades, and live a short Life and a merry one and make a Figure at your Exit, wherein I will give you some Instructions" (pp. 62–63).

29. *Directions to Servants*, p. 7.

30. Bruce Robbins points out the slippage between "affection" and "infection" in the servant's relation to the family in Smollett's *Humphry Clinker* and Thackerey's *Henry Esmond* (*Servant's Hand*, p. 146).

31. Eliza Haywood, *A Present for Servants from their Ministers, Masters, and Other Friends*, 10th ed. (London: J. F. and C. Rivington, 1787), p. iv.

32. O'Malley, pp. 41–42.

33. Hecht, p. 54.

34. Daniel Defoe, *Everybody's Business is Nobody's Business: or Private Abuses, Public Grievances; Exemplified in the Pride, Insolence, and exorbitant Wages of our Women Servants, Footmen, &c.* (London: W. Meadows, 1725), p. 10.

35. George Kearsley, *Kearsley's Table of Trades, For the Assistance of Parents and Guardians, and for the Benefit of those Young Men, Who wish to prosper in the World, and become respectable Members of Society* (London: George Kearsley, 1787), pp. 95–96.

36. McKeon, p. 127.

37. Hannah Woolley, in *The Gentlewomans Companion; or, A Guide to the Female Sex: Containing Directions of Behaviour, in All Places, Companies, Relations, and Conditions . . . Whereunto is added a guide for Cook-Maids, Dairy-Maids, Chamber-Maids, and all others that go to service . . .* (London: A. Maxwell for D. Newman, 1673), writes against this tendency, instructing the maid to view her service as preparation for marriage rather than a job to be taken and left at will: "Be not subject to a change, For a *rouling-stone gathers no Moss*; and as you will gain but little money, so if you ramble up and down you will lose your credit" (p. 214). See also Ann Haly's edition of Samuel and Sarah Adams's 1825 *The Complete Servant* (Lewes, East Sussex: Southover Press, 1989), p. 24.

38. Sarah Trimmer, writing at the end of the century, is one of the most brilliant interpolators of the servant's economic agency into a social vision in which all, masters and servants, are the economic winners. See her *The Servant's Friend, An Exemplary Tale: Designed to Enforce the Religious Instructions Given at Sunday and Other Charity Schools* (London: F. C. and J. Rivington, 1814).

39. *Directions to Servants*, p. 6.

40. Richard Halpern, *The Poetics of Primitive Accumulation: English Renaissance Culture and the Genealogy of Capital* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), p. 75.

41. Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, ed. Edwin Cannon (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), p. 136.

42. McKeon, p. 110.

43. Michel Foucault makes this argument in *The History of Sexuality*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).

44. See Jennifer Milam, "Sex Education and the Child: Gendering Erotic Response in Eighteenth-Century France," in *Picturing Children: Constructions of Childhood between Rousseau and Freud*, ed. Marilyn Brown (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2002), p. 45.

45. *Gentlewomans Companion*, p. 214.

CHAPTER 2. "IN THE POSTURE OF CHILDREN"

1. O'Malley, p. 42.

2. O'Malley, p. 41.

3. Ann Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 3. Robbins also comments that "servants were in fact newly displaced children" (*Servant's Hand*, pp. 111, 151–52).

4. Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos mentions the tendency to look at London apprentices as childlike, despite the fact that an increasing number entered this state in their late teens. See her *Adolescence and Youth in Early Modern England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994), pp. 84–85.

5. Hugh Cunningham, *The Children of the Poor: Representations of Childhood Since the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), pp. 18–19.

6. Daniel Defoe, *The Family Instructor in Three Parts; I. Relating to Fathers and Children. II. To Masters and Servants. III. To Husbands and Wives*. 2nd ed. (London: Eman. Matthews, 1715). Facsimile reproduction (Delmar, NY: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1989), p. 238. Subsequent references are to this reproduction.

7. *Family Instructor*, p. 205.

8. *Behaviour of Servants*, p. 11.

9. Joan Lane's *Apprenticeship in England, 1600–1914* (London: Westview Press, 1996) narrates the history of early modern apprenticeship in terms of this decline. Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos's *Adolescence and Youth* also gives this view of the history of apprenticeship in England. M. Dorothy George comments on the crisis in apprenticeship caused by a shift from elite training to poor relief in *London Life in the XVIIIth Century* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926), pp. 256–65.

10. Lane sees the middle decades of the century as a period of attempts to control, through legislation, a system that was widely abused by both masters and apprentices who did not keep to the terms of their agreements. See also O. Jocelyn Dunlop, *English Apprenticeship and Child Labour* (New York: Macmillan, 1912), pp. 256–57. Dorothy George also notes that "one of the worst results of apprenticeship in general" is the large number of apprentices who, masterless for one reason or another, turn to criminal pursuits (*London Life*, p. 265).

11. Bridget Hill, in *Women, Work, and Sexual Politics in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), documents this trend, as does her previously mentioned 1996 book, *Servants*. Lane also sees the preponderance of domestic service as the "job" to which many parish girls are apprenticed.

12. Linda Pollock makes this point in her introduction to *Picturing Children: Constructions of Childhood between Rousseau and Freud*, ed. Marilyn Brown (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2002), p. xvii.

13. O'Malley, pp. 39–65.

14. O'Malley, p. 65.

15. Anne Higonnet, *Pictures of Innocence: The History and Crisis of Ideal Childhood* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1998), p. 24.

16. Wahlman, pp. 48–50.

17. *Family Instructor*, p. 275.

18. *Instructions for Masters, Traders, Laborers, &c.* (London, 1699), p. 10.

19. *Instructions*, p. 19.

20. *The Cities great Concern in this Case of Question of Honour and Arms, Whether Apprentiship Extinguisheth Gentry?* (London: William Godbid, 1674), p. 32.

21. Hecht, p. 74.

22. *Kearsley's Table of Trades*, p. 40.

23. George Rosen, "A Slaughter of Innocents: Aspects of Child Health in the Eighteenth-Century City," in *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, vol. 5, ed. Ronald C. Rosbottom, 293–316 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1976), p. 295.

24. Lane, pp. 39–54, 87–88.

25. Dorothy George writes about the "worst results of apprenticeship" being large numbers of runaway children turned adrift by the bankruptcy of their masters (*London Life*, p. 265).

26. William Fleetwood, *The Relative Duties of Parents and Children, Husbands and Wives, Masters and Servants* (London: Charles Harper, 1705). Reprint (New York: Garland, 1985), pp. 384–85.

27. *Present for a Servant-Maid*, p. 32.

28. *Advice from Farmer Trueman*, p. 134.

29. Hecht, p. 74.

30. *Present for a Servant-Maid*, p. 32.

31. Samuel and Sarah Adams, *The Servants' Guide and Family Manual*, 2nd ed. (London: John Limbird, 1831), p. 24.

32. *The London Chronicle*, in Hecht, p. 163.

33. For example, see *Servant's Friend*, p. 106.

34. *Servant's Friend*, p. 64.

35. In chapter 4, I take up the mentor functions of the mistress, which are equally crucial to family discipline.

36. *Family Instructor*, p. 238.

37. *Family Instructor*.

38. *Present for Servants*, pp. v–vi. For another example, see *Advice from Farmer Trueman*, p. 18.

39. *Family Instructor*, p. 238.

40. *Advice from Farmer Trueman*, p. 16.

41. John Waugh, *The Duty of Apprentices and other Servants. A Sermon Preach'd at the Parish Church of St. Bridget, alias Bride, August 24th, 1713. Being the Festival of St. Bartholomew; At a Meeting of about 1400 Persons of both Sexes. Being part of those who had been Educated, and afterwards put out to Trades and other Services, by the Trustees of the Charity-Schools, in and about the Cities of London and Westminster* (London: G. Strahan, 1713), p. 23.

42. *The Duty of Apprentices*, p. 24.

43. Sarah Trimmer, *The Oeconomy of Charity, or, An Address to Ladies Concerning Sunday-schools* (London: T. Bensley, 1787), p. 26.

44. *Oeconomy of Charity*, pp. 122–23.

45. William Man Godshall, *A General Plan of Parochial and Provincial Police* (London: T. Payne and Son, 1787), p. 6. The problem of children without even "wicked parents" is remarked upon as well. In *The Advantages of Sunday Schools* (London: C. Wheeler, 1785), John Bennett writes, "through many parts of the kingdom (but, particularly, the commercial and populous ones) groups of little heathens are seen wandering about without any sense or knowledge of their duty" (p. 12). Many of these "little heathens" were destined to become pauper apprentices, de facto domestic servants.

46. Pollack's introduction to Brown, pp. xvii.

47. Frank, p. 47.

48. Frank, p. 30. Also see Richard Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800–1900* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957); David Cresssy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); Jon Klancher, *The Making of English Reading Audience, 1790–1832* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987); and J. Paul Hunter, *Before Novels: Cultural Contexts of Eighteenth-Century Fiction* (New York: Norton, 1990).

49. Jan Fergus, "Provincial Servants' Reading in the Late Eighteenth Century," in *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England*, ed. Helen Small and Naomi Tadmor, 202–25 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

50. *Vade Mecum*, pp. 12–13.

51. See *London Hanged* and Lincoln Faller, *Turned to Account: The Forms and Functions of Criminal Biography in Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

52. *Vade Mecum*, p. 16.

53. *Servant's Friend*, p. 61.

54. *Servant's Friend*, p. 51.

55. *Servant's Magazine; or Female Domestics' Instructor*, vol. 19 (London: Houlston and Stoneman, 1855).

56. *Servants' Guide and Family Manual*, pp. 253–54.

57. *Advice from Farmer Trueman*, pp. 153–54.

58. Frank, p. 30.

59. Pollock dates the emergence of the "innocent" child from the mid-eighteenth century. See her introduction to Brown, p. xviv. Jennifer Milam sees the "fundamental notion of children's sexual innocence as a social, historical construction formed during the Enlightenment" ("Sex Education and the Child" in Brown, p. 45). Anne Higgonet offers the provocative statement that "the Romantic child makes a good show of having no class, no gender, and no thoughts—of being socially, sexually, and psychically innocent" (*Pictures of Innocence*, p. 28). The removal of children from the field of sexuality both depends on and contributes to the sexualization of domestic servants during the eighteenth century.

60. Rosen, p. 302.

61. Tim Meldrum, "London Domestic Servants from Depositional Evidence, 1660–1750: Servant-Employer Sexuality in the Patriarchal Household," in *Chronicling Poverty: The Voices and Strategies of the English Poor, 1640–1840*, ed. Tim Hitchcock, Peter King, and Pamela Sharpe, 47–69 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997).

62. I am not the first scholar to notice the problematic nature of servants' sexuality. Writing on the topic of servants in France, Sarah Maza coins the brilliant phrase "eroticism of inequality." See her *Servants and Masters in Eighteenth-Century France: The Uses of Loyalty* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983). Bridget Hill, in her 1996 book *Servants*, insists on the problematic nature of British male and female servants' sexuality, framing it as the natural outcome of youthful libido meeting unrealistic expectations. Most recently, Anne McClintock has given us a fascinating ac-

count of the fetishism overtly expressed in the mid-Victorian relationship between Arthur Munby and his maid/wife, Hannah Cullwick. See her *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

63. Servants did, in historical fact, marry in service. But the rhetoric of conduct literature assumes that marriage is economically feasible only when a domestic has been in service long enough to save money sufficient to leave that state. Jonas Hanway, in *The Sentiments and Advice of Thomas Trueman, A Virtuous and Understanding Footman: in a Letter to his Brother Jonathan, Setting forth the Custom of Vails-Giving, in a Candid and most interesting Point of View, with regard to the private and public Happiness which depends on this Practice* (London: C. Henderson, 1760), notes that "few people have humanity and patriotism sufficient to entertain married servants" (p. 7).

64. *Servant's Friend*, p. 118.

65. See Tim Meldrum, "Domestic Service, Privacy and the Eighteenth-Century Metropolitan Household," *Urban History* 26, no. 1 (1999): 27–39.

66. *Servants' Guide and Family Manual*, p. 24.

67. This argument was first made by Nancy Armstrong in *Desire and Domestic Fiction: A Political History of the Novel* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987) and is implicit and embedded in much of the best work on intersections between class, gender, and sexuality. See, for example, Thomas A. King, *The Gendering of Men, 1600–1750*, vol. 1, *The English Phallus* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004).

68. *Gentlewomans Companion*, p. 214.

69. *Present for a Servant-Maid*, pp. 45–47.

70. *Present for a Servant-Maid*, pp. 45–47.

71. *Conduct of Servants*, p. 145.

72. *Directions to Servants*, p. 75.

73. *Directions to Servants*, p. 82.

74. *Present for a Servant-Maid*, p. 45.

75. *Advice from Farmer Trueman*, p. 171.

76. *Serious Advice and Warning to Servants*, p. 19.

77. *Advice from Farmer Trueman*, p. 17.

78. *Everybody's Business*, p. 8.

79. *Table of Trades*, p. 96.

80. *Present for a Servant-Maid*, pp. 7, 45.

81. *Servant's Friend*, pp. 84–85.

82. *Serious Advice and Warning to Servants*, pp. 20–21.

83. *Advice from Farmer Trueman*, p. 166.

84. *Present for a Servant-Maid*, p. 6.

85. *Advice from Farmer Trueman*, p. 165. Hanway's text is full of sad stories about "good" servant girls turned prostitutes because they made the fatal error of seeking to change their places. See p. 114, for example.

86. *Everybody's Business*, p. 8.

87. Daniel Defoe, *Augusta Triumphans: or, the Way to Make London the Most Flourishing City in the Universe* (London: J. Roberts, 1728), p. 30.

88. McKeon, p. 400.

89. Caleb Trenchfield, *A Cap of Gray Hairs for a Green Head: Or, the Fathers Counsel to his Son, An Apprentice in London* (London: Samuel Manship, 1688), pp. 95–97.

90. *Vade Mecum*, p. 3.

91. *Table of Trades*, pp. 42–43.

92. *Table of Trades*, p. 35.

93. *Cap of Gray Hairs*, p. 75.

94. *Servant's Friend*, p. 54.

95. *Present for a Servant-Maid*, p. 36.

96. *Directions to Servants*, p. 46.

97. *Great Law of Subordination*, p. 179.

98. *Great Law of Subordination*, p. 179.

99. For example, see *Directions to Servants*, p. 60, for the story of a footman who seduces his mistress into marriage.

100. Eliza Haywood, *A Spy on the Conjurer. Or, a Collection of Surprising and Diverting Stories, with Merry and Ingenious Letters. By way of Memoirs of the Famous Mr. Duncan Campbell, demonstrating the astonishing Foresight of that Wonderful Deaf and Dumb Man* (London: William Ellis, 1725), pp. 194–95.

101. Robbins, p. 15; Frank, p. 120.

102. King, p. 6.

103. Robert Dodsley, *The Footman's Friendly Advice to his Brethren of the Livery; And to all Servants in General. By R. D. now a Footman* (London: T. Worral, n.d.), p. 3.

CHAPTER 3. INTERPRETING THE WOMAN SERVANT

1. See Robert Folkenflick, "*Pamela*: Domestic Servitude, Marriage, and the Novel," *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 5, no. 3 (1993): 253–68 and Scarlett Bowen, " 'A Sawce-box and Boldface Indeed: Refiguring the Female Servant in the Pamela-Antipamela Debate," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 28 (1999): 257–85. Margaret Doody's introduction to the Penguin edition of the novel forcefully argues for the revolutionary nature of Richardson's "working-class" heroine, although she does not historicize Pamela in the context of domestic servitude. Rebecca Estelle Rumbo's "Subversive Servitude: *Pamela* and Conduct Books for Servants" (University of Southern California, PhD diss., 1992; copyright by Rebecca Rumbo, 1992) examines the novel in relation to much of the same literature and makes many of the same connections that I do between Richardson's project and contemporary discussions of domestic service, although with a different focus on the class and gender politics of the novel.

2. Bowen, p. 273.

3. McKeon, p. 194.

4. Frank, pp. 60–62.

5. McKeon, p. 342.

6. Samuel Richardson, *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded*, ed. Thomas Keymer and Alice Wakely (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 24–25. Subsequent references are to this edition.

7. *Pamela*, p. 38.
8. *Pamela*, pp. 47–48.
9. *Pamela*, p. 170.
10. McKeon, p. 715.
11. *Pamela*, p. 175.
12. *Pamela*, p. 177.
13. This unforgettable scene occurs in *Augusta Triumphans* (see chapter 2).
14. *Pamela*, p. 32.
15. *Pamela's Letters: Immodest Romances Painted in Images of Virtue. Appended to Charles Povey, The Virgin in Eden: or, the State of Innocency. Deliver'd by way of Image and Description. Presenting a Nobleman, a Student, and Heiress, on their Progress from Sodom to Canaan* (London: J. Roberts, 1741). Reprinted in *Richardsoniana: The Life and Time of Seven Major British Writers* (New York: Garland, 1975), p. 77.
16. *Pamela*, p. 46.
17. *Pamela*, p. 46.
18. *Pamela*, pp. 44–45.
19. *Pamela*, p. 200.
20. *Pamela*, p. 77.
21. *Pamela*, p. 58.
22. *Pamela*, p. 36.
23. *Pamela*, p. 50.
24. *Pamela*, p. 26.
25. *Pamela*, p. 51.
26. *Pamela*, p. 52.
27. *Pamela*, p. 77.
28. Milam in Brown, p. 45.
29. Bowen, p. 267.
30. *Pamela*, pp. 31–32.
31. *Pamela*, p. 29.
32. *Pamela*, p. 36.
33. *Gentlewomans Companion*, p. 214.
34. *Augusta Triumphans*, p. 30.
35. *Pamela*, p. 32.
36. McKeon notes, in a discussion of monarchical power, "in its devolution to women absolutism manifests itself in a peculiarly immaterial, interior, metaphorical, virtual, and ethical form because in their sociocultural existence women are deprived of the potential for that material and actual sufficiency on which the movement from necessity to freedom is predicated" (p. 152). While it is a stretch from monarchical power to a fictional woman servant in 1740, Pamela's power takes on a similar, "peculiarly immaterial" form.
37. Perry, p. 2.
38. *Pamela Censured: In a Letter to the Editor* (London: J. Roberts, 1741). Reprint by the Augustan Reprint Society, Publication Number 175 (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1976), p. 18.

39. See Bowen, pp. 261–62.

40. Henry Fielding, *An Apology for the Life of Mrs. Shamela Andrews*, ed. Douglas Brooks-Davies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 314. Subsequent references are to this edition.

41. *Shamela*, p. 324.

42. *Shamela*, p. 328.

43. As Frank points out, Fielding immediately grounds Shamela's literacy in debased, working-class practices (poor spelling), and shifts the model of literacy to Parson Williams (p. 49).

44. *Shamela*, p. 357.

45. Eliza Haywood, *Anti-Pamela: or, Feign'd Innocence Detected; In a Series of Syrena's Adventures. A Narrative which has really its Foundation in Truth and Nature; and at the same time that it entertains, by a vast variety of surprizing Incidents, arms against a partial Credulity, by shewing the Mischiefs that frequently arise from a too sudden Admiration. Publish'd as a necessary Caution to all Young Gentlemen* (London: J. Huggonson, 1741), p. 231. Reprinted in *The Pamela Controversy: Criticisms and Adaptations of Samuel Richardson's* Pamela, *1740–1750*, ed. Thomas Keymer and Peter Sabor (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2001). Subsequent references are to this edition.

46. *Anti-Pamela*, p. 102.

47. *Anti-Pamela*, p. 101.

48. *Pamela: or, Virtue Triumphant; A Comedy* (London: Samuel Lyne, 1741).

49. James Love, *Pamela, A Comedy* (London: J. Robinson, 1742).

50. Henry Giffard Edge, *Pamela: or, Virtue Rewarded; An Opera* (Newcastle: J. White, 1742).

51. *The Servant's Friend*, for example, focuses on the small family of servants in a clergyman's modest establishment; these "good" servants shake their heads over their colleagues' behavior in the large family of servants in Lord and Lady Townley's house (see pp. 54–55).

52. Carlo Goldoni, *Pamela: Commedia di Carlo Goldoni; Pamela, A Comedy; Translated into English with the Italian Original* (London: J. Nourse, 1756), p. 121.

53. Goldoni, *Pamela*, p. 69.

54. Kathleen Wilson, *The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture and Imperialism in England, 1715–1785* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 164–65.

55. McKeon, p. 691.

56. Goldoni, *Pamela*, p. 51.

57. Linda Colley has persuasively argued for the significance of political and cultural union between Scotland and England; Goldoni's vision of union and forgiveness should, like the patriotic references to Britishness in these plays, be read in the context of what Colley calls "Forging the Nation" during the eighteenth century. See *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707–1837* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), pp. 71–85, 105–31.

58. *The Case of Elizabeth Canning Fairly Stated* (London: M. Cooper, W. Reeve, and C. Sympson, 1753), pp. 1–2.

59. Alexander Welsh, *Strong Representations: Narrative and Circumstantial Evidence in England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), pp. 7–31.

60. Welsh, p. 19.

61. Welsh, p. 35.

62. Philologus [pseud.], *The Inspector Inspected: Or, Dr. Hill's Story of Elizabeth Canning Examined, and impartially Considered, in a Letter to that Gentleman In which all his vain Subterfuges are Detected and Confuted* (London: J. Bouquet, 1753), p. 4.

63. [Allan Ramsay], *Letter to the Right Honourable The Earl of —— Concerning the Affair of Elizabeth Canning. By a Clergyman* (London: T. Seddon, 1753), pp. 49–50.

64. *The Laws Relating to Masters and Servants* (London: H. Lintot, 1755), p. iii.

65. *Letter to the Right Honourable The Earl of ——*, pp. 50–53.

66. *Letter to the Right Honourable The Earl of ——*, p. 54.

67. McKeon, p. 342.

68. *Religious Courtship*, p. 335.

69. *Religious Courtship*, pp. 294–95.

70. *Table of Trades*, p. 96.

71. *Advice from Farmer Trueman*, p. 110.

72. From evidence in the novel *Tom Jones*, Welsh contends that Fielding's arguments are based on character as well (p. 73).

73. Henry Fielding, *A Clear State of the Case of Elizabeth Canning* (London: A. Millar, 1753), pp. 292–93.

74. See, for example, Daniel Cox, *An Appeal to the Public, in Behalf of Elizabeth Canning* (London: W. Meadows, 1753): "The character of Elizabeth Canning is well supported by several tradesmen of probity and integrity in the neighbourhood of Aldermanbury, who have known her from her childhood, the daughter of an industrious working man, some time since dead, who left behind him a widow, a woman of an honest character, with five children. The eldest, Elizabeth Canning, is now near nineteen years of age, her person plain, and short of stature: she has lived as a servant maid for some years past in the neighbourhood, without any reproach upon her character. Her last master, Mr. Lyon, a carpenter in Aldermanbury, a person in years, and of a solid reputation, with whom she lived at the time of the robbery, speaks of her as a sober and virtuous girl, diligent and constant in her business, and thinks that himself and his wife could almost account for every half hour of her time that she lived with them, which was about ten or twelve weeks. In much the same manner is she spoken of by the other families where she was servant, particularly by Mr. Wintlebury, who keeps the weavers arms, a very reputable public house in Aldermanbury, with whom she lived near two years, and behaved with remarkable sobriety, modesty, and diligence" (pp. 10–12).

75. For another example, see *The Inspector Inspected*: "the Character of the Criminals was notoriously bad, that of Canning and her Friends as remarkably good" (p. 38).

76. *A Clear State of the Case*, pp. 290, 292.

77. *A Clear State of the Case*, p. 311.

78. *A Collection of Several Papers Relating to Elizabeth Canning* (London: E. Innocent, 1754), p. 11.

79. See, for instance, Sir Crisp Gascoyne's account of the gypsies in Dorset, *Inquiry of Sir Crisp Gascoyne, Knt. Late Lord Mayor of the City of London, Into the Cases of Canning and Squires* (Dublin: George Faulkner, 1754), pp. 46–47.

80. *A Clear State of the Case*, p. 390.

81. *A Clear State of the Case*, p. 286.

82. *A Clear State of the Case*, p. 291.

83. *A Clear State of the Case*, p. 293.

84. *Letter to the Right Honourable The Earl of —*, pp. 24–26.

85. *An Appeal to the Public*, pp. 13–14.

86. *A Counter-Address to the Public, Occasioned by Sir Crisp Gascoyne's Account of his Own Conduct, Relative to the Cases of Elizabeth Canning and Mary Squires*, 2nd ed. (London: J. Blunt, 1754), p. 4. See also the *Free Enquirer*, no. 51, Thursday, May 23, 1753: "Simplicity, integrity, and diligence, are the only portion of this orphan girl; and to have the fruits of them secured to her, in the station alloted her by providence, of a common house servant, is the utmost she has aspired after."

87. James Solas Dodd, Surgeon, *A Physical Account of the Case of Elizabeth Canning; With An Enquiry into the Probability of her subsisting in the Manner therein asserted, and her Ability for Escape after her suppos'd ill Usage* (London: J. Bouquet, 1753), p. 9.

88. *The Trial of Elizabeth Canning, spinster, for Wilful and Corrupt Perjury . . .* (London, 1754), p. 174.

89. *The Truth of the Case: Or, Canning and Squires Fairly Opposed* (London: M. Cooper, 1753), p. 16.

90. *A Clear State of the Case*, p. 293.

91. *The Inspector Inspected*, p. 24.

92. Gascoyne refrains from making these charges himself, but in *An Inquiry of Sir Crisp Gascoyne* he quotes a "John Cooper" as writing, "I am really surprized, that neither Mr. Fielding, nor Dr. Hill suspect that Elizabeth Canning might absent herself, to cover the Shame of a Lying-in; and which, if it were the case, would account for the meagre poor Condition she returned in, and the Time of her Absence" (pp. 48–49).

93. *The Devil Outdone, In a Contest between Elizabeth Canning, Mary Squires, and Dr. C—; A Ballad* (London: S. Wright, 1753).

94. *Letter to the Right Honourable The Earl of —*, pp. 19–20.

95. *A Clear State of the Case*, p. 291.

96. *A Clear State of the Case*, p. 309.

97. *A Physical Account of the Case*, p. 21.

98. *A Physical Account of the Case*, pp. 15–16.

99. *A Physical Account of the Case*, p. 25.

100. *An Appeal to the Public*, p. 17.

101. *An Appeal to the Public*, p. 19.

102. See Judith Moore's *The Appearance of Truth: The Story of Elizabeth Canning and Eighteenth-Century Narrative* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1994) for a full discussion of the case's long fascination for other writers.

103. *An Appeal to the Public*, pp. 22–33.
104. *The Devil Outdone*, p. 2.
105. *An Appeal to the Public*, p. 20.
106. See *A Clear State of the Case*, p. 287.
107. *Present for a Servant-Maid*, pp. 6–7.
108. *A Clear State of the Case*, pp. 289–90.
109. *The Truth of the Case*, pp. 19–20.
110. *Letter to the Right Honourable The Earl of —*, p. 8.
111. *A Clear State of the Case*, p. 293.
112. *An Appeal to the Public*, p. 36.
113. *An Appeal to the Public*, p. 36–37.
114. *The Inspector Inspected*, pp. 18–19.
115. *The Inspector Inspected*, pp. 28–29.
116. *Letter to the Right Honourable The Earl of —*, pp. 16–17.
117. *Letter to the Right Honourable The Earl of —*, pp. 25–28.
118. *Letter to the Right Honourable The Earl of —*, p. 33.
119. See Robbins's *Servant's Hand*.
120. See McClintock's *Imperial Leather*.

CHAPTER 4. DANGEROUS INTIMACIES

1. Swift, p. 86.
2. George E. Haggerty, *Men in Love: Masculinity and Sexuality in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).
3. *Religious Courtship*, p. 299.
4. *Religious Courtship*, pp. 300–301.
5. *Religious Courtship*, p. 304.
6. *Religious Courtship*, p. 336.
7. *Religious Courtship*, p. 353.
8. *Religious Courtship*, pp. 334–35.
9. *Present for a Servant-Maid*, p. 50.
10. *Advice from Farmer Trueman*, pp. 132–33.
11. *Advice from Farmer Trueman*, p. 49.
12. *Oeconomy of Charity*, pp. 29–30.
13. *Servants' Guide and Family Manual*, p. 99.
14. See Hannah Woolley's *Gentlewomans Companion*; Samuel and Sarah Adams's *Complete Servant*; Eliza Haywood's *Present for a Servant-Maid*; and Thomas Seaton's *Conduct of Servants in Great Families*.
15. *Advice from Farmer Trueman*, pp. 106–7.
16. *Complete Servant*, p. 18.
17. *Religious Courtship*, p. 289.
18. *Religious Courtship*, p. 292.
19. *Religious Courtship*, p. 291.

20. *Religious Courtship*, p. 294.

21. *Religious Courtship*, p. 295.

22. Terry J. Castle, "'Amy, Who Knew My Disease': A Psychosexual Pattern in Defoe's Roxana." *ELH* 46, no. 1 (Spring 1979), pp. 88–89.

23. Ellen Pollak, *Incest and the English Novel, 1684–1814* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), p. 4.

24. Daniel Defoe, *Roxana, the Fortunate Mistress or, a History of the Life and Vast Variety of Fortunes of Mademoiselle de Beleau, afterwards called the Countess of Wintselsheim in Germany; Being the Person known by the Name of the Lady Roxana in the time of Charles II*, ed. John Mullan (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 19. Subsequent references are to this edition.

25. *Roxana*, p. 28.

26. *Roxana*, pp. 26–27.

27. *Roxana*, p. 31.

28. McKeon, p. 132.

29. *Roxana*, p. 28.

30. *Roxana*, p. 16.

31. *Roxana*, pp. 28–29.

32. McKeon, p. 452.

33. *Roxana*, p. 32.

34. Laura J. Rosenthal, *Infamous Commerce: Prostitution in Eighteenth-Century British Literature and Culture* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006), pp. 70–96.

35. *Roxana*, p. 45.

36. *Roxana*, p. 46.

37. *Roxana*, p. 47.

38. *Roxana*, p. 47.

39. Rosenthal, pp. 93–96.

40. I owe this observation to Jill Campbell, my reader for the Johns Hopkins University Press.

41. *Roxana*, p. 270.

42. *Roxana*, pp. 270–71.

43. *Roxana*, pp. 312–13.

44. Rosenthal, p. 93.

45. *Roxana*, p. 324.

46. *Roxana*, p. 329.

47. For example, the *Newgate Calendars* regularly anthologized the stories of mother and daughter Sarah and Sarah Morgan Metyard, who were executed for the murder of their servant, Anne Naylor. See the *New Newgate Calendar or Malefactor's Register*, vol. 4 (London: Alexander Hogg, 1779), pp. 219–26.

48. Patty Seleski's article on the Elizabeth Brownrigg case offers this information, as well as putting forth a compelling argument for its class and gender politics. See "A Mistress, a Mother and a Murderess Too: Elizabeth Brownrigg and the Social Construction of an Eighteenth-Century Mistress," in *Lewd and Notorious: Female Trans-*

gression in the Eighteenth Century, ed. Katharine Kittredge, 210–34 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003).

49. Ruth McClure, *Coram's Children: The London Foundling Hospital in the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1981), p. 107.

50. *An Appeal to Humanity, in an Account of the Life and Cruel Actions of Elizabeth Brownrigg. Who was tried at the Old Bailey on the 12th of September 1767, and sentenced to be hanged at Tyburn on Mondy* [sic] *the 14th of the same Month, for cruelly Beating and Starving Mary Clifford, a Parish Girl, her Apprentice; giving a true and circumstantial Account of that Barbarous Transaction* (London: Harrison and Ward, 1767), p. 7.

51. Seleski, pp. 210–15.

52. *An Appeal to Humanity*, pp. 8–9.

53. *Genuine and Authentic Account of the Life, Trial, and Execution, of Elizabeth Brownrigg, who was Executed on Monday the 14th of September, 1767, for the barbarous Murder of Mary Clifford, her Apprentice Girl* (London: R. Richards, 1767), p. 6.

54. Women and girls wore no knickers or other form of underwear under their shifts (a loose gown worn under an outer gown and petticoat).

55. *An Appeal to Humanity*, p. 3.

56. *An Appeal to Humanity*, p. 25.

57. *An Appeal to Humanity*, p. 3.

58. *An Appeal to Humanity*, p. 15.

59. *An Appeal to Humanity*, p. 16.

60. *An Appeal to Humanity*, p. 18.

61. *An Appeal to Humanity*, pp. 22–23.

62. *An Appeal to Humanity*, p. 24.

63. "The English vice" of sexual pleasure in flagellation is certainly a commonplace of English pornography by midcentury, the most famous example occurring in John Cleland's *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure*, also known as *Fanny Hill*.

64. McClure, p. 107.

65. McClure, p. 107.

66. McClure, p. 116.

67. McClure, p. 117. Bridget Hill's book, *Servants*, bears out the governors' impression that charity and pauper children were most likely to enter households that were themselves economically marginal enough to have no other form of servants (see pp. 30, 149).

68. McClure, p. 119.

69. McClure, p. 119.

70. McClure, p. 128.

71. McClure, p. 132.

72. McClure, pp. 128, 134–35.

73. Lane, p. 89.

74. McClure, p. 113.

CHAPTER 5. PERFORMING THE MANSERVANT, 1730 TO 1760

1. See Haggerty's *Men in Love* and King's *The Gendering of Men*.

2. Shawn Maurer, *Proposing Men: Dialectics of Gender and Class in the Eighteenth-Century English Periodical* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998).

3. Nancy Armstrong, *Desire and Domestic Fiction: A Political History of the Novel* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

4. Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex, and Marriage in England, 1500–1800* (New York: Harper and Row, 1977).

5. Philippe Ariès's famous *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* [English translation of *L'Enfant et la vie familiale sous l'Ancien Régime*], published in 1962, has been widely contested by more recent work on the history of childhood. For one such example pertinent to eighteenth-century Britain, see Andrew O'Malley's *Making of the Modern Child*.

6. Robert Malcolmson, *Life and Labour in England, 1700–1780* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 126.

7. Joseph Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

8. King, p. 6.

9. McKeon, pp. 75–76.

10. Colley Cibber, *An Apology for the Life of Colley Cibber, with an Historical View of the Stage During his own Time, Written by Himself*, ed. B. R. S. Fone (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1968), p. 129.

11. Quoted in Frank, p. 39.

12. Quoted in Frank, p. 39.

13. *Present for a Servant-Maid*, p. 36.

14. Quoted in Hecht, p. 54.

15. *Laws Relating to Masters and Servants*, p. iii.

16. *Footman's Friendly Advice*, p. 5.

17. Leo Hughes, *The Drama's Patrons: A Study of the Eighteenth-Century London Audience* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1971), p. 15.

18. Quoted in Hughes, pp. 147–48.

19. Hughes refers to a major scuffle amongst footmen which took place in 1701 at a concert in the theater at Little Lincoln's Inn Fields (p. 17). The footmen's claims to participation in their masters' leisure activities went beyond the theater, but the theater gave them the most enduring and permanent place for asserting those claims.

20. See, for example, *Present for a Servant-Maid*, p. 36.

21. Hecht, pp. 54–55.

22. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 2 (March 1732): 661.

23. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 2 (March 1732): 661.

24. King situates hetero-normative desire as central to what emerges as the prevalent view of masculinity in this period. Shawn Maurer's fine work also traces the construction of a public masculinity grounded in the dominance of domestic women in the periodical literature of the eighteenth century (see *Proposing Men*).

25. *London Magazine*, February 1737, p. 107. Quoted in Hughes, p. 19.

26. *London Magazine*, March 1737, p. 163. Quoted in Hughes, pp. 19–20.

27. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 7 (March 1737): unnumbered page.

28. King, pp. 16–17.

29. King, p. 118.

30. Maurer.

31. David M. Little and George M. Kahrl, eds., *The Letters of David Garrick*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1963), vol. 1, p. xlvii.

32. Kahrl notes that while Garrick succeeded in "abolishing the time-honored practice of not charging admission until the end of the first act," after being "coerced by riots, he had to bow" to half-price after the third act. See Little and Kahrl, vol. 1, p. xlvii.

33. Robert Hume, in *Henry Fielding and the London Theatre 1728–1737* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), explains that the *Grub-Street Opera* was, in fact, a revised version of Fielding's highly popular *Welsh Opera*, which was performed on several occasions, beginning in 1731. The revised version dwells even more pointedly on servants than the performed version, so I have chosen to focus on it as a more developed example of Fielding's theatrical representation of men in service.

34. Henry Fielding, *The Grub-Street Opera as It was Acted at the Theatre in the Haymarket, by Scriblerus Secundus* (London: J. Roberts, 1731). Reprinted in William Ernest Henley, *The Complete Works of Henry Fielding, Esq.* 16 vols. (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1967), vol. 9, p. 273. Subsequent references are to volume 9 of this reprint.

35. *Grub-Street Opera*, p. 262.

36. Frank, p. 48.

37. *Grub-Street Opera*, p. 274.

38. *Grub-Street Opera*, p. 274.

39. *The Footman: An Opera; As it is Acted at the New-Theatre, in Goodman's-Fields*. (London: Henry Lintot, 1732), p. iii–iv.

40. *The Footman*, p. vii.

41. *The Footman*, p. 12.

42. *The Footman*, p. 28.

43. *The Footman*, p. 72.

44. *The Footman*, p. 53.

45. *The Footman*, p. 61.

46. *The Footman*, pp. 71–72.

47. In *Henry Fielding*, Hume convincingly discredits the *London Stage*'s claim that *Miss Lucy* was banned by the Lord Chamberlain (p. 265).

48. *Directions to Servants*, p. 46.

49. Henry Fielding, *An Old Man Taught Wisdom; or The Virgin Unmasked; A Musical Entertainment* (London: Rachael Randall, 1787), p. 5.

50. *An Old Man Taught Wisdom*, p. 5.

51. *An Old Man Taught Wisdom*, p. 21.

52. *An Old Man Taught Wisdom*, p. 21.

53. Henry Fielding, *Miss Lucy in Town; A Sequel to The Virgin Unmasqued; A*

Farce; with Songs (London: A. Millar, 1742). Reprinted in Henley's *Complete Works of Henry Fielding*, vol. 9, p. 36. Subsequent references are to volume 9 of this reprint.

54. *Miss Lucy in Town*, p. 52.

55. *Miss Lucy in Town*, p. 54.

56. See Nancy Armstrong, chapters 1 and 2 in *Desire and Domestic Fiction: A Political History of the Novel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 28–95.

57. *Miss Lucy in Town*, p. 59.

58. *Miss Lucy in Town*, p. 60.

59. *Miss Lucy in Town*, p. 61.

60. *Miss Lucy in Town*, p. 61.

61. King, p. 179.

62. *Miss Lucy in Town*, p. 63.

63. McKeon sees this process, occurring in both print and visual texts of the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries as "a transformation in the discursive status of the family, from a signifier of meaning that lies elsewhere to the very embodiment of signification" (p. 127).

64. Hecht, p. 160.

65. Hecht, pp. 163–64.

66. Hecht, p. 164.

67. Hecht, p. 164.

68. Jonas Hanway, *Eight Letters to His Grace — Duke of —, On the Custom of Vails-Giving in England. Shewing the Absurdity, Inconveniency, National Disreputation, and many pernicious Consequences of it to all Ranks of the People. With Proposals for an encrease of Wages, and other Advantages to Domestic Servants* (London: C. Henderson, 1760), p. 55.

69. Jonas Hanway, *The Sentiments and Advice of Thomas Trueman, A Virtuous and Understanding Footman: in a Letter to his Brother Jonathan, Setting forth the Custom of Vails-Giving, in a Candid and most interesting Point of View, with regard to the private and public Happiness which depends on this Practice* (London: C. Henderson, 1760), p. 7.

70. *Sentiments and Advice of Thomas Trueman*, p. 35.

71. *Eight Letters*, pp. 58–59.

72. *Sentiments and Advice of Thomas Trueman*, pp. 57–60.

73. *Eight Letters*, p. 60.

74. King, p. 6.

75. Hecht, p. 138.

76. John O'Keeffe, *Recollections of the Life of John O'Keeffe, Written by Himself*, 2 vols. (London: Henry Colburn, 1826). Reprint (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1969), vol. 1, pp. 161–62.

77. Hecht, p. 164.

78. *Sentiments and Advice of Thomas Trueman*, p. 33.

79. James Townley, *High Life Below Stairs; A Farce of Two Acts* (London: J. Newberry, R. Bailye, J. Leake and W. Frederick, B. Collins, and S. Stabler, 1759), p. 4.

80. *High Life*, pp. 41–43.

81. Roxann Wheeler, in *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in*

Eighteenth-Century British Culture (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), makes a strong case for the lability of racial identity in the eighteenth century. Townley's African servants, like the "slaves" from whom British servants are frequently distinguished, are a part of the historical process by which modern racial categories come to be constructed, not a product of those categories.

82. Tadmor, p. 28.

83. Haggerty, p. 31.

CHAPTER 6. MEN SERVANTS' SEXUALITY IN THE NOVEL, 1740 TO 1794

1. Henry Fielding, *The History of the Adventures of Joseph Andrews And of his friend Mr. Abraham Adams And An Apology for the Life of Mrs. Shamela Andrews*, ed. Douglas Brooks-Davies (1966; reprint Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 22. Subsequent references are to this reprint edition. See Judith Frank's *Common Ground* for her identification of this passage in *Joseph Andrews* with the footmen's riots in the 1730s (pp. 11–12). As far as I know, Frank is the only commentator on the novel who has noticed this connection.

2. *Joseph Andrews*, p. 22.

3. *Joseph Andrews*, p. 27.

4. In her *Natural Masques: Gender and Identity in Fielding's Plays and Novels* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995), Jill Campbell sees the character of Joseph developing from a satiric gender inversion to a serious renegotiation of what masculinity is: "Beginning as a means to parody Richardson, Fielding's construction of a compromised gender identity for his title character becomes not just a device of comedy but a vehicle for an imaginative negotiation between opposite allegiances traditionally systematized by gender" (p. 110).

5. *Joseph Andrews*, p. 23.

6. *Joseph Andrews*, p. 76.

7. *Joseph Andrews*, pp. 213–14.

8. John Richetti, "Representing an Under Class: Servants and Proletarians in Fielding and Smollett," in *The New Eighteenth Century: Theory, Politics, English Literature*, ed. Felicity Nussbaum and Laura Brown, pp. 84–98 (New York: Methuen, 1987), p. 88.

9. *Joseph Andrews*, p. 290.

10. *Joseph Andrews*, pp. 348–49.

11. Campbell, pp. 90–108. Her argument resonates with Thomas King's thesis of an emergent masculinity that encodes heterosexual desire in opposition to the homoerotic relationships between upper- and lower-class men (p. 6).

12. *Joseph Andrews*, pp. 172–73.

13. Campbell, pp. 101–6.

14. *Joseph Andrews*, p. 211.

15. *Joseph Andrews*, p. 211.

16. *The Adventures of a Valet, Written by Himself*, 2 vols. (London: J. Robinson, 1752), vol. 1, p. 3.

17. Perry, p. 2.
18. *Valet*, vol. 1, p. 168.
19. *Valet*, vol. 1, pp. 168–69.
20. *Valet*, vol. 1, p. 184.
21. *Valet*, vol. 1, p. 204.
22. *Valet*, vol. 1, p. 225.
23. *Valet*, vol. 1, p. 225.
24. *Valet*, vol. 1, pp. 286–87.
25. *Valet*, vol. 2, p. 271.
26. *Valet*, vol. 2, pp. 99–100.
27. *Valet*, vol. 2, p. 107.
28. *Valet*, vol. 2, p. 306.
29. Tobias Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, ed. O. M. Brack, Jr. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990), p. 80. Subsequent references are to this edition.
30. *Clinker*, p. 78.
31. *Clinker*, p. 82.
32. *Clinker*, p. 344.
33. *Clinker*, pp. 202–3.
34. *Clinker*, p. 203.
35. McKeon, p. 686.
36. *Clinker*, p. 303.
37. Richetti, p. 85.
38. Richetti, p. 97. The character Jery Melford, for example, writes: "I was extremely diverted, last ball-night, to see the Master of the Ceremonies leading, with great solemnity, to the upper end of the room, an antiquated Abigal, dressed in her lady's cast-clothes; whom he (I suppose) mistook for some countess just arrived at the Bath. The ball was opened by a Scotch lord, with a mulatto heiress from St. Christopher's; and the gay colonel Tinsel danced all the evening with a daughter of an eminent tinman from the borough of Southwark" (*Clinker*, p. 47).
39. McKeon, p. 691.
40. *Clinker*, p. 301.
41. Perry, p. 404.
42. *Clinker*, p. 160.
43. William Godwin, *Caleb Williams*, ed. David McCracken (New York: W. W. Norton, 1977), p. 4. Subsequent references are to this edition.
44. It is interesting to note that if Jan Fergus is correct in her work on servants' readings habits, Caleb's interest in eclectic fiction is probably more typical than the texts consumed by Fielding's Joseph and by Trimmer's servants. See "Provincial Servants' Reading in the Late Eighteenth Century," in *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England*, ed. Helen Small and Naomi Tadmor, 202–25 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
45. *Williams*, p. 143.
46. *Williams*, p. 106.

47. *Footman's Friendly Advice*, p. 25.
48. *Williams*, p. 17.
49. *Williams*, p. 77.
50. *Williams*, p. 72.
51. *Williams*, p. 279.
52. For examples, see James Thompson, "Surveillance in William Godwin's *Caleb Williams*," in *Gothic Fictions: Prohibition/Transgression*, ed. Kenneth W. Graham, 173–98 (New York: AMS Press, 1989); and John Bender, "Impersonal Violence: The Penetrating Gaze and the Field of Narration in *Caleb Williams*," in *Vision & Textuality*, ed. Bill Readings, 256–81 (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995).
53. *Williams*, p. 8.
54. *Williams*, p. 119.
55. Falkland preaches his philosophy of social difference to Tyrrel: "That distinction [between the ranks] is a good thing, and necessary to the peace of mankind . . . We that are rich, Mr. Tyrrel, must do every thing in our power to lighten the yoke of these unfortunate people [the poor]" (see *Williams*, pp. 76–77).
56. *Williams*, p. 119.
57. *Williams*, p. 108.
58. *Williams*, p. 324.
59. See, for example, Robert J. Corber, "Representing the 'Unspeakable': William Godwin and the Politics of Homophobia," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 1, no. 1 (1990): 85–101.
60. *Williams*, p. 107.
61. *Williams*, p. 129.
62. *Williams*, p. 334.
63. *Williams*, p. 325.
64. *Williams*, p. 326.
65. *Joseph Andrews*, p. 325.
66. *Williams*, p. 144.
67. *Williams*, p. 145.
68. *Williams*, p. 155.
69. *Williams*, p. 179.
70. *Williams*, p. 162.
71. *Williams*, p. 176.
72. *Williams*, p. 189.
73. *Williams*, p. 190.
74. *Williams*, p. 210.
75. *Williams*, p. 218.
76. Lincoln Faller also mentions the fascination that escape narratives, such as Jack Sheppard's, had for eighteenth-century readers. See his *Turned to Account: The Forms and Functions of Criminal Biography in Late Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 20, 72–90.
77. *Williams*, p. 188.

78. *Williams*, p. 230.
79. *Williams*, p. 253.
80. *Williams*, p. 235.
81. *Williams*, p. 237.
82. *Williams*, p. 237.
83. *Williams*, p. 264.
84. *Williams*, p. 269.
85. *Williams*, p. 269.
86. *Williams*, p. 274.
87. *Williams*, p. 288.
88. *Williams*, p. 292.
89. *Williams*, p. 293.
90. *Williams*, p. 300.
91. *Williams*, p. 301.
92. *Williams*, p. 303.
93. *Williams*, pp. 309, 315.
94. *Williams*, p. 315.
95. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985).

CONCLUSION. NOTES OF A FOOTMAN ON THE "SERVANT PROBLEM," 1790

1. John Macdonald, *Travels (1745–1779)*. Published as *Memoirs of an Eighteenth-Century Footman*, ed. Sir E. Denison Ross and Eileen Power, with an introduction by John Beresford. Broadway Travellers (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1927; reprinted 1928), p. xiii. Subsequent references are to this edition.
2. *Memoirs*, p. 45
3. *Memoirs*, p. 58.
4. *Memoirs*, p. 55.
5. *Memoirs*, p. 61.
6. *Memoirs*, p. 67.
7. *Memoirs*, p. 68.
8. *Memoirs*, p. 97.
9. *Memoirs*, p. 247.
10. *Memoirs*, p. 249.
11. Macdonald reports that he is the son of an aristocratic Highlander, killed and dispossessed in the 1745 rebellion.
12. *Memoirs*, p. 30.
13. *Memoirs*, p. 30.
14. *Memoirs*, p. 33.
15. *Memoirs*, p. 40.
16. *Memoirs*, p. 41.
17. *Directions to Servants*, p. 46.
18. For an extended example, see *Behaviour of Servants*.

19. See, for example, *Apprentices' Companion: Containing plain and useful directions for servants, especially apprentices; how to perform their particular duties to their masters, so as to please God. And discovering such sins and vices which are common hindrances to them therein; With some examples of Gods severe judgments upon such as have taken ill courses; Together with prayers and devotions for morning and evening; To which is added, a short and familiar method of arithmetick, and some copies of the most useful writing-hands* (London: Samuel and John Sprint, 1699). Haywood and Hanway are also eloquent on this subject.

20. *Everybody's Business*, p. 14.

21. See, for example, *The Servant's Calling; with some advice to the apprentice; designed for such as have had the benefit of a good education, or would be assisted under the disadvantage of a bad one* (London: G. Strahan, 1725), p. 23.

22. *Memoirs*, p. 262.

23. *Memoirs*, pp. 179–80.

24. *Memoirs*, p. 90.

25. *Memoirs*, p. 115.

26. *Memoirs*, p. 145.

27. *Memoirs*, p. 214.

28. *Memoirs*, pp. 237–38.

29. *Memoirs*, p. xiii.

30. Pamela tries to assert her independence from B— by dressing in her own clothes, the best dress of a yeoman farmer's daughter, but B— reads her clothing as just another class-coded form of her sexual availability. After B— has asked Pamela to marry him, friends and neighbors newly introduced to Pamela as his bride ask to see her in this garb as a sort of walking illustration to her story.

Index

abolitionist literature, 103–4
Adams, Sarah and Samuel, 32, 35, 88–89, 194n37, 204n14
Adolescence and Youth (Ben-Amos), 194n4, 195n9
Advantages of Sunday Schools (Bennett), 196n45
Adventures of a Valet, 15–16, 141–42, 150–53, 160, 174, 176, 181–82
Advice from Farmer Trueman (Hanway), 6–7, 24, 27, 33, 37–39, 70, 87–89, 95, 196n40, 198n85, 214n19
Albion's Fatal Tree (Hay), 193n27
Altick, Richard, 197n48
Anti-Pamela (Haywood), 61–62
anti-*Pamela* literature, 48, 59–62, 67, 70, 79, 83, 108
Apology for the Life of Colley Cibber, An (Cibber), 113, 207n10
Appeal to Humanity, An, 101–2, 104–5
Appeal to the Public, in Behalf of Elizabeth Canning (Cox), 75–76, 80, 202n74
Appearance of Truth, The (Moore), 76, 203n102
apprentices: differentiated from domestic servants, 21, 43, 195n11; and marriage, 21, 42–43; parish and charity, 21, 23, 26, 91, 94, 99–102, 105–7; sexuality of, 35, 42–43; and the theater, 30–31, 114. *See also* education
Apprentices' Companion, 214n19
apprenticeship: decline of, 20–21; 197n9, 195n25; female, 195n11; parish and charity, 26
Apprenticeship in England, 1600–1914 (Lane), 21, 107, 195n9, 195n10
Apprentice's Vade Mecum, The (Richardson), 5, 30–31, 42, 114
Aries, Philippe, 207n5
Armstrong, Nancy, 3, 129, 135, 198n67, 209n56
Augusta Triumphans (Defoe), 40

Barnard, John, 114
Beauvoir, Simone de, 4
Before Novels (Hunter), 197n48
Beggar's Opera, The (Gay), 11, 63, 120–21, 123–25
Behaviour of Servants, 193n28, 213n18
Bell, John, 182–83
Ben-Amos, Ilana Krausman, 194n4, 195n9
Bender, John, 212n52
Bennett, John, 196n45
Beresford, John, 178, 187
Between Men (Sedgwick), 177, 213n95
Blandy, Mary, poisoning trial, 68
Bowen, Scarlett, 47, 57, 59, 199n1
Britons (Colley), 201n57
Broughton, Thomas, 7, 20, 37, 39
Brown, Marilyn, 57
Brown, Martin, 107
Brownrigg, Elizabeth, 14, 16–17, 99–109, 143, 164, 167–68, 188–89; her apprentices, 101, 103, 106–7, 188
Brownrigg, John, 104–5

Caleb Williams (Godwin), 3, 16–17, 131, 141, 143, 160–79, 182, 188–89, 212n55
Campbell, Jill, *Natural Masques*, 145, 147–49, 210n4, 210n11; as reader, 205n40
Canning, Elizabeth, 13, 17, 48, 64, 66–83, 108, 203n92; bodily evidence, 74–77; as

Canning, Elizabeth (*continued*)
childlike victim, 67–68, 72–73, 75, 79; literacy, 79–81; as problem in interpretation, 74–75, 81; trial, 67–67, 69–70, 73, 83, 170; as whore, 67, 72–73
Canning debates, 13, 66–82; "Canningites," 67–68, 71–74, 80; "Egyptians," 67–68, 72–74, 80
Canning's Magazine, 74
Cap of Gray Hairs for a Green Head (Trenchfield), 42–43
Carretta, Vincent, 191
Case of Elizabeth Canning Fairly Stated, The, 67
Castle, Terry, 90–92
Centuries of Childhood (Aries), 207n5
Champion, 114
children: abuse of, 90, 92, 99, 101–3, 105; education of, 4, 9, 12, 22, 26, 28–29, 33, 91; poverty and, 91–92, 94, 99; relationship to servants, 19–34; theories of, 34, 57. *See also* education
Children of the Poor, The (Cunningham), 20, 195n5
Chronicling Poverty (Hitchcock), 197n60
Cibber, Colley, 113, 207n10
Cities great Concern in this Question of Honour and Arms, 23, 195n20
Cities of the Dead (Roach), 111
class: clothing and, 8, 53–54, 183–87; conflict, 170; consciousness, 173; hierarchy, 154–59, 162–65, 185, 188, 212n55; identity, 2, 4, 54, 62, 173, 176; leveling, 8, 48, 142, 179, 188; servant's knowledge as threat to hierarchy, 162; weapons and, 156
Clear State of the Case of Elizabeth Canning, A (Fielding), 66–69, 71–75, 77–80
Cleland, John, 39, 206n63
Clifford, Mary, 99–101, 104, 107–8, 164, 189
Clive, Kitty, 126
Collection of Several Papers Relating to Elizabeth Canning, 72
Colley, Linda, 201n57
Common Ground (Frank), 8, 29, 48, 122, 144, 193n26, 201n43, 210n1
Complete Servant, The (Adamses), 32, 35, 88–89, 194n37, 204n14
Complexion of Race, The (Wheeler), 191n1, 209–10n81
conduct and polemical literature on domestic service, 1–2, 4–12, 22–23, 28–33, 34–35, 37, 39–40, 42–45, 47, 49–50, 52, 56, 59–60, 65, 84, 88, 91, 95, 123, 126–27, 152, 173
Conduct of Servants in Great Families (Seaton), 6, 36–37, 44, 204n14
Cooper, John, 203n92
Coram, Thomas, 100
Coram's Children (McClure), 101, 106–7
Corber, Robert J., 212n59
Counter-Address to the Public, Occasioned by Sir Crisp Gascoyne's Account of his Own Conduct, 72, 203n86
Cox, Daniel, 75–76, 80, 202n74
Cressy, David, 197n48
criminal biography, 171–73
Cullwick, Hannah, 82, 198n62
Cunningham, Hugh, 20, 195n5

Defoe, Daniel: *Augusta Triumphans*, 40, 52, 57, 60; *Behaviour of Servants*, 7–8, 21, 58, 184, 193n28, 213n18; *Everybody's Business*, 9, 38, 40, 48–50, 54, 193n34; *Family Instructor, The*, 20–21, 26–27, 85; *Great Law, The*, 6, 8, 44, 126, 151, 165, 193n23, 193n27; *Religious Courtship*, 5, 70, 85–86, 88–91, 93–95, 99; *Roxana*, 3, 13–14, 16, 85, 90–101, 108–9, 143, 164, 167–68, 170, 188–89; servants' education, 19, 28; servants' leisure, 31; servant's role, 10–11, 142
Directions to Servants (Swift), 6, 8–9, 11, 37, 44, 59, 84, 88, 126, 150–51, 165, 182, 184, 187, 199n99
Desire and Domestic Fiction (Armstrong), 3, 129, 135, 198n67, 209n56
Dodd, James, 72–73, 75–76
Dodsley, Robert, 45, 115, 162
Domestic Happiness Promoted (Hanway), 31
domestic ideology, 2–3, 8, 12, 19, 58
domestic relations, 1, 7–8, 26–28, 35, 56, 58

Domestic Servant Class in Eighteenth-Century England, The (Hecht), 192n11
domestic servants: African, 137–38; characters of, 52, 70–73, 75–76, 86, 152, 167; and children, 9, 19–34, 45, 88, 91–92, 95, 97–98, 100, 106, 134, 142; and clothes, 8, 39, 45, 50, 53–55, 93, 124, 179, 184–89, 214n30; criminalization of, 8, 50, 55, 168–75, 193n27, 193n28; curiosity of as intrusion on family, 162, 165–68; economic interests of, 9–12, 59–61; in the family, 1–18, 25–26, 35–36, 45–46, 48, 56–57, 91, 110, 139–40, 159, 165; footmen, 14–15, 31–32, 35, 37, 43–46, 111–19, 123–42, 144–45, 149, 154–59, 170, 173, 178–89; lady's maid, 49, 88–89; leisure of, 2, 32–35, 43, 46; and life-cycle service, 20, 91, 122–23, 125–26, 134, 142; and literacy, 29–34, 57–58, 60–62; and marriage, 21, 35, 86–87, 133–35, 139, 142, 154, 175, 179; and mobility, 9, 11–12, 21, 24, 29, 33, 36–37, 40, 49–55, 58, 86, 122; in the posture of children, 12, 14–16, 19–34, 43, 45, 55–56, 61, 72–73, 86–87, 91, 153, 174–75, 182–83, 194n3, 194n4; and property, 50, 53–55, 168–69, 179–80, 184–86; as property, 55, 64; and prostitution, 38–40, 47–49, 52, 57, 59–60, 65, 78–79, 83, 92; rights of, 114–16, 130–31, 144, 184; as wage laborers, 2–3, 6, 7, 11, 58, 110; wages of, 53, 116, 133; violence against, 97–98, 99–109. *See also* education; family; literacy; "the servant problem"; sexuality
Doody, Margaret, 199n1
Drama's Patrons, The (Hughes), 116, 118, 207n18, 207n19, 208n25, 208n26
Drury Lane Theatre, 14, 17, 112–19, 130, 139, 141, 144–45, 149
Dunlop, O. Jocelyn, 195n10

Economy of Character, The (Lynch), 191n2
Edge, Henry Gifford, 63, 201n50
Edgeworth, Maria, 19
education: of apprentices, 20–21, 26–27, 101; of children, 22, 26–27, 182–83, 192n8; master's role in, 26–27; mistress's role in, 85–87, 107; model of bad, 162; of poor children, 101, 106–7; of servants, 11, 19, 26–34, 85–87, 160–62, 182–83; theories of, 9, 27–28, 34, 188. *See also* children; literacy
Eight Letters to His Grace —— (Hanway), 15, 134–35
English Apprenticeship and Child Labour (Dunlop), 195n10
English Common Reader, The (Altick), 197n48
entrepreneurship, manservant's, 179, 181
Equiano the African (Carretta), 191n1
eroticism: and children, 34, 57; of maid servant, 41, 52–53, 55–57; of manservant, 41–43; between master and maid servant, 57–58, 65; between master and manservant, 17, 163–68, 176; between mistress and maid servant, 14; and violence, 100, 102–4, 160, 164, 166, 176
Everybody's Business is Nobody's Business (Defoe), 9, 38, 40, 48–50, 54, 193n34
evidence: in Canning's trial, 74–77; status of legal, 68, 71–72

Faller, Lincoln, 30, 171, 212n76
family: in *Caleb Williams*, 174–75; conjugal model of, 159, 179; consanguinal model of, 159; contractual relations and the, 10–11, 23, 26, 46, 85–86; destruction of, 40, 43, 45, 143; formation of, 2–4, 6, 10, 12, 19, 26, 33–34, 46, 59, 84–85, 94, 106–9, 142, 150, 177, 188–89, 192n14; as haven for servants, 174–75; role of master in, 26–27, 85, 89–90; role of mistress in, 83–109; servants, in the, 5, 9–10, 35, 40, 46, 82, 88, 91; utopian vision of, 153, 176–77
Family, Sex and Marriage (Stone), 11, 207n4
Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England (Tadmor), 191n2
Family Fictions (Flint), 191n2
Family Instructor, The (Defoe), 20–21, 26–27, 85, 91
Fanny Hill, Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure (Cleland), 39, 206n63
Fergus, Jan, 29, 211n44

Fielding, Henry: Canning trial, 203n92; *Clear State of the Case of Elizabeth Canning, A*, 66–69, 71–75, 77–80; *Grub-Street Opera*, 120–22, 125, 208n33; *Joseph Andrews*, 15, 41, 48, 120, 129–31, 140–49, 150, 153–59, 164, 168, 170–71, 174–77, 180, 182, 187, 211n44; *Miss Lucy in Town*, 126–31, 142, 138–39, 144–46, 179, 182, 184, 187; *Old Man Taught Wisdom, An*, 126–27, 179, 182, 184, 187; *Shamela*, 52, 59–60, 81, 143, 201n43; *Tom Jones*, 81, 184, 202n72; Universal Registry Office, 70; *Welsh Opera*, 208n33
flagellation, *English vice*, 105, 206n63
Fleetwood, Charles, 118–19
Fleetwood, William, 23–24
Flint, Christopher, 191n2
Folkenflick, Robert, 199n1
Footman: An Opera, The, 120, 123–27, 138
footman, novelistic, 141–60, 177, 181
footman, stage, 119–31, 156, 176–77, 179, 181–82, 184, 187
footman as entrepreneur, 182
Footman's Friendly Advice, The (Dodsley), 45, 115, 162
Footman's Gallery, 14–15, 17, 112–21, 125–26, 131–32, 135–43, 145, 149, 153, 156, 170, 184
Foucault, Michel, 12, 46, 194n43
France, 185
Franchise Affair, The (Tey), 76
Frank, Judith, 8, 29, 48, 122, 144, 193n26, 201n43, 210n1
Free Enquirer, 72, 203n86
Freud, Sigmund, 2–3, 46, 65, 84, 90–93, 102, 188

Garrick, David, 14–15, 113, 121, 126, 135–36, 139; *The Lying Valet*, 139
Gascoyne, Sir Crisp, 66, 76, 203n79, 203n92
Gay, John, 11, 63, 120–21, 123–25
gender: ambiguity, 145, 148; femininity, 132, 158, 188; hierarchy, 35; inversion, 104–5, 144; masculinity, 110–13, 118–21, 123–25, 127–28, 130–32, 135, 141–43, 146–47, 158, 178, 182–83, 183–88; performance of, 179, 185–88; and sexuality, 14, 18, 45; theories of identity, 2, 4, 18, 45. *See also* identity, sexuality
Gendering of Men (King), 45, 110, 119–20; 129, 198n67, 207n1, 207n24, 210n11
General Plan of Parochial and Provincial Police (Godshall), 28, 196n45
Genius in Bondage (Carretta and Gould), 191n1
Gentlemen's Magazine, 117, 119
Gentlewomans Companion, The (Woolley), 13, 36, 49, 88, 194n37, 204n14
Genuine and Authentic Account of the Life, Trial, and Execution of Elizabeth Brownrigg, 103
George, Dorothy, 195n9, 195n10, 196n25
Godshall, William Man, 28, 196n45
Godwin, William, 3, 16–17, 131, 141, 143, 160–79, 182, 188–89, 212n55
Goldoni, Carlo, 63–65
Gothic Fictions (Graham), 212n52
Gould, Philip, 191n1
Graham, Kenneth W., 212n52
Great Law of Subordination (Defoe), 6, 8, 44, 126, 151, 165, 193n23
Grub-Street Opera (Fielding), 120–22, 125, 208n33
gypsies, 71–72, 78

Habermas, Jurgen, 112, 193n22
Haggerty, George, 85, 110, 140, 207n1
Hall, Virtue, 66, 80
Halpern, Richard, 11, 194n40
Hanway, Jonas: *Advice from Farmer Trueman*, 6–7, 24, 27, 33, 37–39, 70, 87–89, 95, 196n40, 198n85, 214n19; *Domestic Happiness Promoted*, 31; *Eight Letters to His Grace —*, 15, 134–35; London Foundling Hospital, on the, 106; *Sentiments and Advice of Thomas Trueman*, 131–35, 137–38, 140, 142, 156, 198n63
Hay, Douglas, 193n27
Haywood, Eliza: *Anti-Pamela*, 61–62; *Present for a Servant-Maid, A*, 6, 8, 24–25, 36–39, 44–45, 78, 87–88, 95, 114, 204n14, 207n20, 214n19
Hecht, J. Jean, 3, 24–25, 117, 131–32, 136–37, 192n11

Henry Esmond (Thackerey), 193n30
Henry Fielding and the London Theatre (Hume), 208n33, 208n47
heterosexuality: as bond between men, 45, 110, 123, 125, 139, 133, 147–48, 155, 158–59, 176–77, 179–81, 207n24; opposed to homosexuality, 45
Horace, 171
Higgonet, Anne, 22, 197n59
High Life Below Stairs (Townley), 14, 136–39
Hill, Bridget: *Servants*, 3, 192n11, 197n62, 206n67; *Women, Work, and Sexual Politics in Eighteenth-Century England*, 195n11
Hill, John, 80, 202n75, 203n92
History of Sexuality, The (Foucault), 12, 46, 194n43
Hitchcock, Tim, 197n60
Hogarth, William, 43
Hogg, Alexander, 205n47
homoeroticism, between master and servant, 164–68
homosociality, 17, 85, 110, 139–43, 148–49, 154, 158–60, 176–77, 179–81; differentiated from homoerotic, 45, 110–12, 135, 159–60
Hughes, Leo, 116, 118, 207n18, 207n19, 208n25, 208n26
Hume, Robert, 208n33, 208n47
Humphry Clinker (Smollett), 15–16, 132, 141–42, 153–60, 168, 170–71, 174–77, 182, 188–89, 193n30, 211n38
Hunter, J. Paul, 197n48
husband, English, servant as, 15, 127–30, 133, 145–47, 149–50, 153–56, 159, 174–75, 179–82

identity: servants', 12, 57; sexual, 2, 4, 18, 45, 67; theories of, 2–5, 18, 22. *See also* gender; sexuality
Illiad, The, 156
Imperial Leather (McClintock), 82, 197–98n62, 204n120
Incest and the English Novel (Pollak), 90
India, 185–87
individualism, of manservant, 178–79, 182
Industry and Idleness (Hogarth), 43
Infamous Commerce (Rosenthal), 95–96, 98
Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations, An (Smith), 11, 194n41
Inquiry of Sir Crisp Gascoyne (Gascoyne), 66, 76, 203n79, 203n92
Inspector Inspected (Hill), 80, 202n75, 203n92
Instructions for Masters, Traders, Laborers, 23, 195n18
intimacy: between master and manservant, 17, 133–35, 140–41, 143, 157–60, 164–68, 177–79, 183; between mistress and maid servant, 83–99, 188; between servants and employers, 30, 188–89; and violence, 92, 97–98, 140–41, 143, 158–60, 164, 167, 188–89. *See also* love

Jacobinism, 16, 143, 176
Jacobite politics, 65
Jones, Mary, 101, 106–7
Joseph Andrews (Fielding), 15, 41, 48, 120, 129–31, 140–50, 153–59, 164, 168, 170–71, 174–77, 180, 182, 187, 211n44
Journal of the History of Sexuality, 212n59
Joy, William ("the strong man of Kent"), 156
judicial and legal system, English, 69–70, 72, 160, 168–70

Kahrl, George M., 121
Kearsley, George, 6, 9–11, 23, 38, 42–43, 70, 195n22
Kearsley's Table of Trades (Kearsley), 6, 9–11, 23, 38, 42–43, 70, 195n22
King, Thomas A., 45, 110, 119–20, 129, 198n67, 207n1, 207n24, 210n11
Kittridge, Katherine, 206n48
Klancher, Jon, 197n48
Kussmaul, Ann, 19–20

labor: contractual, 2, 10–11, 18; relations of, 7–8, 11, 18, 46, 82, 85
Lane, Joan, 21, 107, 195n9, 195n10
Laws Relating to Masters and Servants, 69, 115

Letters of David Garrick (Little and Kahrl), 121, 208n31, 208n32
Letter to the Right Honorable the Earl of —— Concerning the Affair of Elizabeth Canning (Ramsay), 69–70
Lewd and Notorious (Kittridge), 205–6n48
Liesenfeld, Vincent J., 114
Life and Labor in England (Malcolmson), 111, 207n6
Lillo, George, 30–31, 41
Linebaugh, Peter, 30, 193n27
literacy: of Caleb Williams, 160–61, 211n44; Canning's, 79–81; of footmen, 178; of servants, 29–34, 48, 57, 60–62, 201n43, 211n44; between servants and employers, 32, 57–58, 176
Literacy and the Social Order (Cressy), 197n48
Little, David M., and George M. Kahrl, 121, 208n31, 208n32
Locke, John, 4, 9, 19, 34, 55, 162, 188
London, 6–7, 20, 37, 39, 44, 66, 111–12, 114, 117, 120, 128, 144–46, 152, 171–73, 179, 184, 186–87
London Chronicle, 25, 196n32
London Foundling Hospital, 101, 106–8
London Hanged (Linebaugh), 193n27
London Life in the XVIIIth Century (George), 195n9, 195n10, 196n25
London Magazine, 119
London Merchant, The (Lillo), 30, 41
love: between brother and sister, 153, 176–77; conjugal, 36, 58–59, 62, 130, 133–35, 137, 142–44, 149, 153; between employer and servant, 10, 24–25, 188; between master and maid, 49, 58–59, 65, 82, 143; between master and manservant, 133–35, 140–41, 143, 157–61, 165–66, 175–77; between mistress and maid, 83–85, 87–88, 91–98, 108–9, 140, 188; between mistress and manservant, 44–45, 144
Love, James, 63
luxury, 8, 44, 115–17, 124, 184
Lynch, Deidre Shauna, 191n2

Macdonald, John, 16–17, 178–89; as child, 183; class of, 213n11; and clothes, 183–87; as husband, 181–82; in India, 181; marriage of, 181; in Spain, 181; *Travels*, 213n1; travels of, 179, 181, 185–86; umbrella, 186–87
Making of the English Reading Audience, The (Klancher), 197n48
Making of the Modern Child, The (O'Malley), 22, 192n8, 207n5
Making of the Modern Self, The (Wahlman), 191n2
Malcolmson, Robert, 111, 207n6
Malefactors' Register, 67
Massie, Joseph, 106
Maurer, Shawn, 110–11, 120, 207n24
Maza, Sarah, 197n62
McClintock, Anne, 82, 197–98n62, 204n120
McClure, Ruth, 101, 106–7
McKeon, Michael, 3–4, 8, 10, 12, 40, 46–47, 49, 51, 64, 70, 94–95, 112, 131, 135, 157–58, 191n2, 193n22, 200n36, 209n63
Meldrum, Tim, 34
Memoirs of an Eighteenth-Century Footman (Macdonald), 16–17, 178–89, 213n1, 213n11
Men in Love (Haggerty), 85, 110, 140, 207n1
Metyard, Sarah (mother), 205n47
Metyard, Sarah Morgan (daughter), 205n47
Milam, Jennifer, 57, 197n59
Miss Lucy in Town, 126–31, 142, 138–39, 144–46, 179, 182, 184, 187
Mitchell, Mary, 101
mock-epic, 156
Moore, Judith, 76, 203n102
Munby, Alfred, 82, 198n62

nationality, 182, 186–87
Natural Masques (Campbell), 145, 147–49, 210n4, 210n11
New Eighteenth Century, The (Nussbaum and Brown), 210n8
Newgate Calendar, 67, 76, 205n47
New Newgate Calendar or Malefactor's Register (Hogg), 205n47
Novel Relations (Perry), 3–4, 59, 159, 191n2, 192n14

Nussbaum, Felicity, and Laura Brown, 210n8

Oeconomy of Charity (Trimmer), 28–29, 87–88
O'Keefe, John, 136
Old Man Taught Wisdom, An (Fielding), 126–27, 179, 182, 184, 187
O'Malley, Andrew, 22, 192n8, 207n5

Pamela, A Comedy (Love), 63
Pamela Censured, 52, 59
Pamela Controversy, The (Keymer and Sabor), 201n45
Pamela: or, Virtue Rewarded, An Opera (Edge), 63
Pamela: or Virtue Rewarded (Richardson), 3, 13, 15, 38, 41, 46–62, 65–67, 70–71, 79, 81, 83, 88, 108, 143, 160, 164, 168, 170, 182, 184, 187–89, 214n30; Pamela's clothes, 50, 53–55, 214n30; Pamela's education, 83; Pamela's mistress, 83; theatrical rewritings of, 62–65
Pamela: or, Virtue Triumphant, a Comedy (Goldoni), 62–63
Pamela's Letters, 52
patriotism, English, 64, 115, 129
performance: of femininity, 187–88; of masculinity, 110–40, 179, 185–87
Perry, Ruth, 3–4, 59, 159, 191n2, 192n14
philanthropy, 20, 27–29, 100–101
Physical Account of the Case of Elizabeth Canning (Dodd), 72–73, 75–76
Pictures of Innocence (Higgonet), 22, 195n15, 197n59
Picturing Children (Brown), 29, 195n12, 197n59
pimp, servant as, 124, 152
Poetics of Primitive Accumulation (Halpern), 11, 194n40
Pollak, Ellen, 90
Pollock, Linda, 29, 195n12, 197n59
Povey, Charles, 52
Practice and Representation of Reading in England (Small and Tadmor), 211n44
Present for a Servant Maid, A (Haywood), 6, 8, 24–25, 36–39, 44–45, 78, 87–88, 95, 114, 204n14, 207n20, 214n19
Prince, Mary, 191n1
Proposing Men (Maurer), 110–11, 120, 207n24
prostitution, 38–40, 47–49, 52, 57, 59–60, 65–67, 78–79, 92
Present for Servants, 31, 35

race, 137, 191n1
Relative Duties of Parents and Children, The (Fleetwood), 23–24, 196n26
Ramsey, Allan, 69–70
Readings, Bill, 212n52
Recollections of the Life of John O'Keefe (O'Keefe), 136, 209n76
Religious Courtship (Defoe), 85–86, 89–91, 94–95, 99
Rich, Christopher, 113
Richardson, Samuel: *Apprentice's Vade Mecum*, 5, 30–31, 42, 114; *Pamela*, 3, 13, 15, 38, 41, 46–58, 69–71, 74, 79, 81–84, 88, 108–9, 141–45, 160, 164, 168, 170, 182, 184, 187–89, 214n30; responses to *Pamela*, 48, 52, 59–67, 70, 79, 108–9; stage versions of *Pamela*, 62–66
Richetti, John, 147, 157
Roach, Joseph, 111
Robbins, Bruce, 3–4, 82, 192n11, 193n30, 194n3, 204n119
Rosen, George, 23
Rosenthal, Laura, 95–96, 98
Roxana: or, the Fortunate Mistress (Defoe), 3, 13–14, 16, 85, 90–101, 108–9, 143, 164, 167–68, 170, 188–89
Rumbo, Rebecca Estelle, 199n1

Sangster, William, 187
Seaton, Thomas, 6, 36–37, 44, 204n14
Secret History of Domesticity (McKeon), 3–4, 8, 10, 12, 40, 46–47, 49, 51, 64, 70, 94–95, 112, 131, 135, 157–58, 191n2, 193n22, 200n36, 209n63
Sedgwick, Eve, 177
Seleski, Patty, 102–4, 205n48
Sense of the People (Wilson), 64
Sentiments and Advice of Thomas Trueman (Hanway), 131–35, 137–38, 140, 142, 156, 198n63
Serious Advice and Warning to Servants (Broughton), 29, 31

Sermon Preach'd at the Parish Church of St. Bridget, alias Bride, August 24th, 1713 (Waugh), 27
"the servant problem," 5–13, 17–18, 24–25, 28–29, 34, 36, 38–41, 44, 46, 48–49, 56–57, 63, 65–68, 78, 83–85, 91, 109, 114, 117, 119, 121, 124, 126–27, 130–31, 133–39, 142, 155, 159–60, 178–79, 183, 192n11
Servants and Masters in Eighteenth-Century France (Maza), 197n62
Servant's Calling, 214n21
Servants: English Domestics in the Eighteenth Century (Hill), 3, 192n11, 193n62, 206n67
Servant's Friend (Trimmer), 25–26, 31, 35–36, 38–39, 44, 161, 173, 194n38, 201n51, 211n44
Servant's Guide and Family Manual, The, 88
Servant's Hand, The (Robbins), 3, 192n11, 193n30, 204n119
Servants in Husbandry (Kussmaul), 19–20, 194n3
Servant's Magazine, The, 32, 41
sexuality: of apprentices, 42; double standard of, 41–42; enigma of women's, 13, 68, 70, 82; family and, 84–85; of female servants, 3, 35–41, 43, 46–49, 52, 54, 56–62, 65–69, 73–74, 78–79, 81–83, 88, 92, 108–10, 135, 139, 143; of footmen, 14–15, 35, 43–46, 119–20, 125–32, 142, 154–55, 180; illicit, 39–40, 42–43, 92; interpreting women servants', 83–84; of male servants, 14, 34, 41–45, 110–12, 135, 139–40, 141–44, 151–52, 154, 178; of male servants as joke, 155; of masters, 54, 63, 124; of servants, 2, 9, 12, 34–36, 62–64, 137–38; of working-class women, 59; perversion of, 14, 40, 100–105, 109, 188; semiotics of servants', 12; theories of, 2, 4, 18, 45–46, 84–85, 110. *See also* eroticism; heterosexuality
Shamela (Fielding), 52, 59, 66, 143, 201n43
Sheppard, Jack, 212n76
slavery, chattel, 103–4, 138
Small, Helen, and Naomi Tadmor, 211n44
Smith, Adam, 11
Smollett, Tobias, 15–16, 132, 141–42, 153–60, 168, 170–71, 174–77, 182, 188–89, 211n38
Some Thoughts Concerning Education, 19
Spain, 181–82, 186
Spy on the Conjurer, A, 44–45
Squires, Mary, 66, 71–72, 77
Stone, Lawrence, 11, 207n4
Strong Representations (Welsh), 68, 202n72
Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere (Habermas), 193n22
Swift, Jonathon, 6, 8–9, 11, 37, 44, 59, 84, 88, 126, 150–51, 165, 182, 184, 187, 199n99

Tadmor, Naomi, 3, 7, 139, 191n2
Tey, Josephine, 76
Thackerey, William, 193n30
theater, 14–15, 17, 30–31, 111–19, 131; audiences, 116, 120, 123, 125, 130, 133, 135, 138–42, 149; cultural politics of, 65; depiction of servants in, 14–15, 62–65, 110–13, 119–31, 137–40, 179; Licensing Act of 1737, 114
Thompson, E. P., 193n27
Thompson, James, 212n52
Tom Jones (Fielding), 81, 184, 202n72
Townley, James, *High Life Below Stairs*, 14, 136–39
Trenchfield, Caleb, 42–43
Trial of Elizabeth Canning, 73, 203n88
Trimmer, Sarah, *Oeconomy of Charity*, 28–29, 87–88; servants as children, 20; *Servant's Friend*, 25–26, 31, 35–36, 38–39, 44, 161, 173, 194n38, 201n51, 211n44; "the servant problem," 6, 11
Truth of the Case: Or, Canning and Squires Fairly Opposed, 73, 203n89
Turned to Account (Faller), 30, 171, 212n76

vails, 14, 25, 112–13, 118, 131–37, 142, 153, 159, 183
violence: against children 14, 92, 99–109; critique of, 149; footmen's riots, 113–19, 149; and masculinity, 148–49; between masters and men servants, 15–16, 44, 135, 140–41, 143, 158–60, 164, 168; between mistress and maid servant, 92, 97–98, 99–109, 168; against servants, 107, 146; and sexuality, 40, 44, 126

Virgin in Eden, The (Povey), 52
Vision and Textuality (Readings), 212n52

Wahlman, Dror, 4, 22, 191n2
Wakefield, Priscilla, 19
Walpole, Robert, 120–22
Waugh, John, 27
Welsh, Alexander, 68, 202n72
Welsh Opera (Fielding), 208n33
Wheeler, Roxann, 191n1, 209–10n81
Whigs and Hunters (Thompson), 193n27
Whole Duty of Man, 161
Williams, Raymond, 1
Wilson, Kathleen, 64
Wollstonecraft, Mary, 4
Women, Work, and Sexual Politics in Eighteenth-Century England (Hill), 195n11
Woolley, Hannah, 13, 36, 49, 88, 194n37, 204n14